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THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

From the Earlieſt Accounts till the

Diviſion of the Macedonian Empire in the Eaſt.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D. F.R.S. & A.S.

Εκ μεν τοιγε της ἁπαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραθεσεως, ετι δε ὁμοιοτητος και διαφορας, μονως αν τις εφικοιτο και δυνηθειη κατοπτευσας, ἁμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ἱστοριας λαβειν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

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The kingdom of Macedon founded by Caranus. A.C. 814.

FOUR hundred and ſixteen years before the Chriſtian æra, and little more than half a century before Philip aſſumed the government of Macedon, that country, to a ſuperficial obſerver, might have appeared ſcarcely diſtinguiſh-

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able from the barbarous kingdoms of Thrace, Pæonia, and Illyricum, which ſurrounded it on the north, eaſt, and weſt. Towards the ſouth, it was excluded from the ſea by a chain of Grecian republics, of which Olynthus and Amphipolis were the moſt flouriſhing and powerful. To this inland diſtrict, originally confined to the circumference of about three hundred miles, Caranus, an Argive prince of the numerous race of Hercules, eluding the dangers which proved fatal to royalty [1] in moſt communities of Greece [2], conducted a ſmall colony of his adventurous and warlike countrymen, and, having conquered the barbarous natives, ſettled in Edeſſa, the capital of the province then named Emathia, and afterwards Macedonia, for reaſons equally unknown [3]. The eſtabliſhment of this little principality, which, under Philip, grew into a powerful kingdom, and, under Alexander, ſwelled into the moſt extenſive empire known in the ancient world, was adorned (could we believe hiſtoric flattery) by many extraordinary circumſtances, preſaging its future greatneſs. The gods took care of the infancy of Macedon, and ſent, as oracles had announced, a herd of goats to conduct Caranus to his new capital of Edeſſa, which thence changed its name to Ægæ, the city of goats; a fiction unworthy of record, did it not explain the reaſon why goats were adopted as the enſigns of Macedon, and why the figures of thoſe

[1] Juſtin. l. vii. c. i. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. vi.

[2] See vol. i. p. 105. [3] Crophius Antiquit. Macedon.

animals

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animals are ſtill to be ſeen on the coins of Philip, and thoſe of his ſucceſſors.

Prudent conduct of its firſt kings the primary cauſe of the greatneſs of Macedon

Caranus, as well as the princes Cœnus[4] and Thyrimas, who immediately followed him, had occaſion to exerciſe their prudence ſtill more than their valour. Their feeble colony of Greeks might have fallen an eaſy prey to the unhoſpitable ferocity of the barbarous tribes, by whom it was on all ſides ſurrounded. But the policy of the firſt kings of Macedon, inſtead of vainly attempting to repel or to ſubdue, endeavoured, with more ſucceſs, to gain, by good offices, the ancient inhabitants of Emathia and the neighbouring diſtricts. They communicated to them the knowledge of many uſeful[5] arts; they gave them the Grecian religion[6] and government[7] in that ſtate of happy ſimplicity which prevailed during the heroic ages; and while, to render intercourſe more eaſy and familiar, they adopted, in ſome degree, the language and manners of the barbarous natives, they, in their turn, imparted to the latter a tincture of the Grecian language and civility[8]. By this judicious and liberal ſyſtem, ſo unlike to that purſued by their countrymen in other parts of the world, the followers of Caranus gra-

4 Juſtin. ubi ſupra, Syncell. Chronic.

5 Pauſanias Achaic. & Thucydid. l. ii.

6 Arrian Exped. Alexand. l. iv. p. 83.

7 Φιλιππῳ μεν παιδι, Ἡρακλειδῃ δε απο γενες, ὁτῳ οι προγονοι εξ Αργους εις Μακεδονιαν ηλθον, ὡ δε ὁια αλλα νομῳ, Μακεδονων αρχοντες διετελεσαν. Arrian, l. iv. p. 86. In another paſſage of the ſame book he ſays, the ſubjects of Macedon had more liberty than the citizens of Greece.

8 Demoſthenes, Arrian, and Curtius.

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dually aſſociated with the warlike tribes in their neighbourhood, whom it would have been alike impoſſible for them to extirpate or to enſlave; and the ſame generous policy, being embraced by their deſcendants, deſerves to be regarded as the primary cauſe of Macedonian greatneſs.

Tranſactions of the Macedonians preceding the reign of Archelaus I. A.C. 713.—416.

Perdiccas, the firſt of that name, ſo far eclipſed the fame of his three predeceſſors, that he is accounted the founder of the monarchy by Herodotus[9] and Thucydides[10]. His hiſtory has been magnified by fable, which has alſo obſcured or diſtorted the actions of the five princes[11] that intervened between him and Alexander I. who filled the Macedonian throne when Xerxes invaded Greece[12]. Here we attain hiſtoric ground. Alexander, as related above[13], acted an important and honourable part in the affairs of Greece and Perſia, without neglecting the intereſt of his own kingdom, which he extended to the river Neſſus on the eaſt, and to the Axius on the weſt. His ſon, Perdiccas II. inherited the abilities of his father, without inheriting his integrity. During the Peloponneſian war, the alliance of this prince formed an object of important concern to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He eſpouſed the cauſe of the latter, which he regarded as his own, becauſe the Athenians, who had occaſionally levied tribute on his

9 Herodot. l. viii. c. cxxxvii. 10 Thucydid. l. ii. p. 168.

11 Argæus I. Philip I. Æropus I. Alcetes, Amyntas I. Juſtin. l. vii. c. ii.

12 Herodot. l. v. c. xix. 13 Vol. i. p. 487.

anceſtors,

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anceſtors[14], were then maſters of the Greek ſettlements along the Macedonian coaſt, the vicinity of which naturally tempted the ambition of Perdiccas. Under the ſpecious pretence of enabling Olynthus and the other cities of Chalcidicé to recover their independence, he lent his aid to deſtroy the Athenian influence there, expecting to eſtabliſh the Macedonian in its ſtead. But this deſign failed of ſucceſs. The Olynthian confederacy was broken, its members became ſubject to Sparta, and after the misfortunes of that republic had encouraged the Olynthians to reſume their freedom, they felt themſelves ſufficiently powerful not only to reſiſt the encroachments of Macedon, but to make conſiderable conqueſts in that country[15].

The ſtate of Macedon greatly improved by that prince. A.C. 416—410.

Archelaus I. who ſucceeded to the throne, diſplayed an enlightened policy, far more beneficial to his kingdom than the courage of Alexander, or the craft of Perdiccas. Like thoſe princes, Archelaus was ambitious to enlarge his dominions (having conquered Pydna and other towns in the delightful region of Pieria[16]); but his main care was to cultivate and improve them. He facilitated communication between the principal towns of Macedon, by cutting ſtraight roads through moſt parts of the country; he built walls and places of ſtrength in the ſituations moſt favourable for that purpoſe; encouraged agriculture and the arts, particularly thoſe ſubſervient to war; formed magazines of

14 Thucydid. ubi ſupra, & Demoſthenes paſſim.
15 See above, vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 320, & ſeqq.
16 Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. xvi.

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arms; raiſed and diſciplined a conſiderable body of cavalry; and, in a word, added more to the ſolid grandeur of Macedon than had been done by all his predeceſſors together [17]. Nor was he regardleſs of the arts of peace. His palace was adorned by the works of Grecian painters. Euripides was long entertained at his court; Socrates was earneſtly ſolicited to live there after the example of this philoſophic poet, formed by his precepts, and cheriſhed by his friendſhip: men of merit and genius, in all the various walks of literature and ſcience, were invited to reſide in Macedon, and treated with diſtinguiſhed regard by a monarch duly attentive to promote his own glory and the happineſs of his ſubjects [18].

Series of uſurpations and revolutions. A.C. 405—360.

A reign of ſix years was too ſhort a period for accompliſhing the important ends which Archelaus had in view. By his death the proſperity of Macedon was interrupted for almoſt half a century, crowded by a ſucceſſion of ten [19] princes or uſurpers, whoſe

17 Thucydides ſays, "than the eight kings who preceded him," counting Perdiccas for the firſt. Αρχελαος ὁ Περδικκου υἱος, Βασιλευς γενομενος τα τειχη τυν ουτα εν τῃ χωρᾳ ωκοδομησε, και ὁδους ευθειας ετεμε, κ᾽ τἀλλα διεκοσμησε τατε κατα τον πολεμον ἱπποις κ᾽ ὁπλοις κ᾽ τῃ αλλῃ παρασκευῃ κρεισσον η ξυμπαντες ὁι αλλοι Βασιλεις οκτω ὁι προ αυτε γενομενοι. Thucydides, p. 168.

18 Ariſtot. Rhetor. l. ii. c. xxix. Stobæus Sermon. 237.

19 Their names, with the dates of their acceſſion or uſurpation, are as follows:

1 Oreſtes,	A. C. 405	6 Argæus II.	A. C. 385
2 Æropus II.	402	Amyntas again re-eſtabliſhed,	383
3 Archelaus II.	394.	7 Alexander II.	372
4 Amyntas II.	392	8 Perdiccas III.	371
5 Pauſanias,	391	9 Ptolemy,	370
Amyntas II.	390		

Perdiccas,

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whoſe hiſtory forms a perpetual ſeries of crimes and calamities. Amidſt theſe diſorders, the ſceptre ſtill remained in the family of Hercules; but almoſt every prince of the blood had an ambition to reign. In order to attain their purpoſe, the different competitors courted the aſſiſtance of the Thracians, of the Illyrians, of the Theſſalians, of the Olynthian confederacy, of Athens, of Sparta, and of Thebes; and each of thoſe powers endeavoured to turn to their own immediate profit the diſſenſions in Macedon. Bardylis, an active and daring chief, who by his abilities in acquiring, and his equity[20] in dividing the ſpoil, had riſen from the condition of a private robber to the command of the Illyrian tribes, entered Macedon at the head of a numerous army, diſpoſſeſſed Amyntas II. the father of Philip, and placed Argæus on the throne, A. C. 385. who conſented to become the tributary of his benefactor[21]. The Thracians ſupported the title of another prince named Pauſanias: but the aſſiſtance of Theſſaly and Olynthus enabled Amyntas to reſume the government; the Olynthians refuſing, however, to ſurrender ſeveral places of importance which Amyntas had entruſted to their protection, or which they had conquered from his competitor, Amyntas complained to Sparta; and that republic, for reaſons above[22] related, declared war againſt A. C. 383.

Perdiccas, A. C. 368
Ptolemy, 367
Perdiccas, 365
Amyntas, A. C. 60
To him Philip ſucceeded in the ſame year.

[20] Cicero de Offic. l. ii.
[21] Diodor. l. xiv. c. xcii.
[22] See vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 329.

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A.C. 380.

Olynthus, and reinſtated the Macedonian king in full poſſeſſion of his dominions. In conſequence of that event, Amyntas eſtabliſhed, and thenceforth held, his court at Pella, where he enjoyed ſeveral years of tranquillity, cultivating the friendſhip of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

The uſurper Pauſanias.

The ſhort reign of his ſon Alexander was diſturbed by a freſh invaſion of the Illyrians, from whom he purchaſed a precarious peace [23]. He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, of whom the eldeſt was ſtill a minor. Availing himſelf of *their* youth and weakneſs, Pauſanias found means to uſurp the throne, being ſupported not only by the Thracians, but by a conſiderable body of Greek mercenaries, as well as by a powerful party in Macedon.

Dethroned by Iphicrates, at the entreaty of Eurydicé. A.C. 370.

Iphicrates, the Athenian, happened at this critical juncture to return from Amphipolis, the recovery of which formed the main object of his expedition. In former journies to the coaſt of Thrace, he had been treated with diſtinguiſhed regard by Amyntas, whoſe widow Eurydicé now craved the protection of Iphicrates for the ſons of his friend. This princeſs was deſcended from the Bacchiadæ, the nobleſt family of Corinth, who, rather than live on an equality with their fellow-citizens in that republic, had become the leaders of the Lynceſtæ, a barbarous tribe inhabiting the moſt weſtern diſtrict of Macedon. Eurydicé inherited all the ambition of her race, and was diſtinguiſhed by a bold

[23] Diodorus & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

intriguing

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intriguing ſpirit [24] ſtill more than by her beauty and accompliſhments. With her young ſons ſhe ſuddenly appeared before Iphicrates, in the ſuppliating form of calamity and woe; preſented the eldeſt to his hand, placed Philip, the younger, on his knee, and conjured him, by "the ſincere friendſhip which Amyntas had ever entertained for Athens and for himſelf, to pity their tender years, oppreſſed by cruel uſurpation." The dignity of her ſorrow prevailed with Iphicrates, who reſpected the ſacred ties of hoſpitality, and who ſaw the advantage that might accrue to Athens by gaining an intereſt in Macedon. We are not informed by what means he eſtabliſhed Perdiccas on the throne. The revolution was effected with ſuch rapidity [25], that we may ſuppoſe a ſudden inſurrection of the people, who, on important emergencies, were accuſtomed, as in the heroic ages, to aſſemble in arms.

Ptolemy dethroned by Pelopidas, who ſends Philip as a hoſtage to Thebes. A.C. 367.

During the minority of the young prince, the kingdom was governed by his natural brother Ptolemy, whoſe ambition, unſatisfied with a delegated power, openly aſpired to reign. This uſurper (as we have related above) was dethroned by Pelopidas and the Thebans, who reinſtated Perdiccas in his dominions; and, in order to ſecure the dependence of Macedon on Thebes, carried into that city as hoſtages thirty Macedonian youths, and with them Philip, the younger brother of the king.

Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.

Perdiccas ſeemed proud of his chain. Elated with the protection of the Thebans, then in the

[24] Juſtin. l. vii. c. iv.

[25] Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrat. Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

height

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height of their proſperity, he forgot the gratitude due to Iphicrates and the Athenians; diſputed the right of that people to Amphipolis, which had been acknowledged by the general council of Greece [26], and his oppoſition rendered fruitleſs their well-directed endeavours to recover that important eſtabliſhment. The Athenians found an avenger in Bardyllis the Illyrian, to whom Perdiccas had denied the tribute that had been paid by his predeceſſors Argæus and Alexander. Bardyllis maintained his claim by force of arms. The Macedonians met him in the field, but were totally defeated with the loſs of four thouſand men [27]. Perdiccas was taken priſoner, and ſoon after died of his wounds. His ſon Amyntas was an infant. Thebes having loſt her pre-eminence in Greece, was unable to protect her diſtant allies. Athens was hoſtile, and Macedon, ſurrounded by enemies on every ſide, already experienced the fury of Barbarian invaders.

Macedon diſtracted by two pretenders to the throne, and deſolated by four foreign armies.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis, who ravaged the weſt, but the Pæonians, a powerful and warlike tribe, having received ſome cauſe of offence from Perdiccas, now indulged their revenge, and inſulted the northern frontier without interruption or controul. The Thracians ſtill ſupported the cauſe of Pauſanias, whom they prepared to ſend back into Macedon at the head of a numerous army. Ptolemy was dead; but Argæus, the ancient competitor of king Amyntas, emboldened by the victory of the Illyrians, who had formerly placed him on the throne, renewed his pretenſions

[26] Demoſth. de fa.ſa Legat. [27] Diodor. l. xvi. ſect. 2.

to

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to that dignity; and, grown old in intrigue, eaſily perſuaded the Athenians, by the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, to exert themſelves in his favour, eſpecially againſt the ſon and brother of Perdiccas, by whoſe inſolence and ingratitude they were juſtly provoked and diſguſted. Impelled by ſuch motives, the Athenians launched their fleet, and ſailed towards the coaſt of Macedon, with three thouſand heavy-armed men, commanded by Mantias[28].

Such were the evils which threatened, and the calamities which oppreſſed, that unfortunate and diſtracted kingdom, when Philip appeared, aſſerting, unterrified, the rights of his infant nephew, againſt two candidates for the throne, and four formidable armies. A prince of leſs courage than Philip would have ſhrunk from a deſign ſeemingly deſperate and impracticable; and had courage been his principal virtue, he would have only heightened the diſorders which he hoped to remedy[29]. But on this emergency, the young Macedonian (for he was only in his twenty-third year[30]) diſplayed thoſe extraordinary abilities which diſtinguiſh his reign, and render it the moſt intereſting ſpectacle that hiſtory can preſent to thoſe who are delighted with ſurveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force and fortune, but the active energies and reſources of a vigorous and comprehenſive mind. Such was the obſcurity in which his merit had hitherto lain concealed from the

Amidſt theſe calamities Philip arrives in Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A.C. 360.

28 Diodorus, ubi ſupra. 29 Olivier Vie de Philippe, p. 47.
30 Comp. Diodor. p. 510. & Juſtin. l. ix. c. viii.

public

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His education, and tranſactions preceding that period.

public, that hiſtorians[31] diſagree as to the place of his reſidence, when he was informed of the defeat and death of his brother Perdiccas. From the age of fifteen he had lived chiefly in Thebes, in the family, and under the direction, of Epaminondas[32], whoſe leſſons and example could not fail to excite, in a kindred mind, the emulation of excellence, and the ardour of patriotiſm[33]. It is probable, that, agreeably to the cuſtom of Greece and Rome, where the youth alternately frequented the ſchool and the camp, and might ſometimes find a ſchool of philoſophy in the tent of a general, that Philip accompanied the Theban hero in many of his military expeditions. It is certain that, attended ſuitably to his rank, he viſited the principal republics of Greece, whoſe inſtitutions in peace and war he examined with a ſagacity far ſuperior to his years[34]. The tactics of the Lacedæmonians were the firſt new eſtabliſhment which he introduced into Macedon. Nor was the improvement of his knowledge the only fruit of his travels. The brother of a king found an eaſy acceſs to whomever he had an intereſt to know and cultivate. Even in Athens, then hoſtile to Thebes, and naturally unfavourable

[31] Diodorus places him in Thebes; Athenæus, l. ii. p. 506, in Macedon; and adds, Διατρεφων δε ενταυθα δυναμιν, ως απεθανε Περδικκας, εξ ετοιμης, δυναμεως υπαρχουσης, επιπεσε τοις πραγμασι. Words which admirably correſpond to the rapid motions of Philip after the death of Perdiccas.

[32] Plutarch. in Pelopida.

[33] Plutarch ſpeaks with the partiality of a Bœotian for Epaminondas, and the reſentment of a native of Chæronea againſt Philip. See Plutarch. in Pelopid.

Plutarch. in Alexand. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

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to a pupil of Epaminondas, Philip acquired the friendſhip and eſteem of Plato [35], Iſocrates [36], and Ariſtotle [37]; and the early connection which he formed with the principal leaders of Athens, and the neighbouring republics, contributed, perhaps, in no ſmall degree, to the ſucceſs of his future deſigns [38].

The Illyrians evacuate Macedon.

His ſeaſonable appearance in Macedon, after the defeat and death of Perdiccas, ſuddenly changed the fortune of that ſeemingly devoted kingdom. Yet our admiration of Philip ought not to make us overlook the favourable circumſtances which ſeconded his abilities, and conſpired to promote his ſucceſs. The places of ſtrength built by Archelaus furniſhed a ſecure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas's army; the Macedonians, though conquered, were not ſubdued; they had conſiderable garriſons in the fortreſſes and walled towns ſcattered over the kingdom [39]; their whole forces had not been engaged in the unfortunate battle with the Illyrians [40]; and thoſe fierce invaders, impatient of delay, and only ſolicitous for plunder, having ravaged the open country, returned home to enjoy the fruits of their violence and rapine. They probably intended ſoon to aſſault Macedon with encreaſed numbers, and to complete their devaſta-

35 Athenæus, l. xi. Ælian, l. iv. c. xix.

36 Iſocratis Epiſtolæ, & Oratio ad Philipp.

37 Ariſtotle at this time lived in the Academy with Plato, where, moſt probably, Philip firſt ſaw him. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. Epiſt. ad Ammæum.

38 Demoſthen. paſſim.

39 Thucydid. l. xi. p. 168.

40 Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

tions;

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tions; but they ſeem to have been alike unqualified to concert or to purſue any permanent plan of conqueſt; and being diſtinguiſhed, as hiſtorians relate, by their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity [41], they were not leſs diſtinguiſhed by that irregular and capricious mode of acting, and that inattention to remote conſequences, which characteriſe the manners of Barbarians.

State of Thrace and Pæonia.

The warriors of Pæonia and Thrace [42] were leſs formidable by their numbers, and equally contemptible for their ignorance and indocility. In early times, the Pæonians indeed had been regarded as a tribe leſs ſavage, and more conſiderable [43] than their Macedonian neighbours; but the former had remained ſtationary, in the rudeneſs of their primitive ſtate, while the latter had been improved by a Grecian colony, and by frequent communication and intercourſe with the Grecian republics. Of the Thracians we have had occaſion to ſpeak in the preceding parts of this work. The deſtructive ravages of Scuthes [44] repreſent the ordinary condition of that unſettled and inhoſpitable country, ſometimes united under one chief, more frequently divided among many, whoſe mutual hoſtilities baniſhed agriculture, induſtry, and every uſeful art. Excluſive of the Grecian ſettlements on the coaſt, Thrace contained not any city, nor even any conſiderable town. The Barbarian Cotys, who was

41 Lucian. in Macrobiis, & Cornel. Alexand. apud Plinium, lib. vii. cap. clvii.

42 Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrat. Xenoph. Anab. l. vii. p. 393.

43 Hippocrat. de Epidem.

44 See vol. iii. p. 235, & ſeqq.

dignified

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dignified with the title of king, led a wandering life, encamping on the banks of rivers with his flocks and followers[45]. War and paſturage formed the only ſources of his grandeur, and even the only means of his ſubſiſtence.

Philip diſarms the reſentment of thoſe countries.

Such were the firſt enemies with whom Philip had to contend. Their own capricious unſteadineſs delivered him from the Illyrians. To the Pæonians, who ravaged the north, he either ſent a deputation, or applied in perſon; and partly by bribes, partly by artful promiſes and flattery, perſuaded the invaders to retire. The ſame arts prevailed with the ſelfiſh king of Thrace[46], whoſe avarice readily ſacrificed the cauſe of Pauſanias, while Philip thought the remaining wealth of Macedon uſefully conſumed in removing thoſe barbarous foes, that he might reſiſt, with undivided ſtrength, the more formidable invaſion of Argæus and the Athenians.

Philip declared king of Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

The Athenian fleet already anchored before the harbour of Methoné; Argæus, with his numerous followers, had encamped in the province of Pieria; and their united forces prepared to march northward to Edeſſa, or Ægæ, the ancient capital of Macedon, where they expected to be joined by a powerful party, whom fear or inclination would bring to the ſtandard of the baniſhed king. The Macedonians

45 Athenæus, l. xii. p. 331.

46 Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. ſect. 3. Horace alludes to theſe events:

——— diſſidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo, & ſubruit *æmulos*
Reges muneribus. Lib. II. Ode 16.

who

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who adhered to the intereſt of Perdiccas, or rather of his infant ſon, had been diſpirited by the recent victory of the Illyrians, and the misfortunes conſequent on that event. But the manly exhortations, and undaunted deportment of Philip, rouſed them from their deſpair. They admired the dexterity with which he had diſarmed the reſentment of the Thracians and Pæonians. His graceful perſon, inſinuating addreſs, and winning affability, qualities which he poſſeſſed in a very uncommon degree[47], gained the affections of the Macedonians, who either recollected, or were ſtudiouſly reminded of, a prophecy[48], that announced great glory to their nation under the reign of the ſon of Amyntas. In an aſſembly held at Ægæ, they exclaimed, with one conſent, "This is the man whom the gods point out as the founder of the Macedonian greatneſs. The dangerous condition of the times admits not of an infant reign. Let us obey the celeſtial voice, and entruſt the ſceptre to hands alike worthy to hold, and able to defend it[49]." This propoſal ſeemed not extraordinary in a country which had long been accuſtomed to interruptions in the lineal order of ſucceſſion. Amyntas was ſet aſide, and Philip, who had hitherto poſſeſſed

47 Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

48 In the Sibylline verſes preſerved in Pauſanias (in Achaic.) Philip is named as the author of the Macedonian greatneſs, and the deſtruction of the kingdom is foretold under another Philip. Theſe verſes, though evidently compoſed after the event, ſerve to confirm the fact, that the ſuperſtition of the multitude was wrought upon for the purpoſes of Philip. Juſtin. l. vii. c. vi.

49 Ibid. idem.

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only the delegated power of regent, was inveſted with the royal title and authority[50].

He defeats the pretender Argæus, and his Athenian auxiliaries.

While all ranks of men were thus animated with affectionate admiration of their young king, the obſolete claims of Argæus could only be maintained by arms. Attended by his Athenian allies, he marched towards Edeſſa; but that city ſhut its gates againſt him. Diſpirited by this repulſe, he made no farther attempts to gain admiſſion into any of the Macedonian cities, but directed his courſe backward to Methoné. Philip, who had now collected ſufficient ſtrength to take the field, haraſſed his retreat, cut his rear to pieces, and defeated him in a general engagement, in which Argæus himſelf fell, with the flower of his army. The reſt, whether Greeks or Barbarians, were made priſoners of war[51].

Uncommon treatment of the Athenian and Macedonian priſoners.

It was on this occaſion that Philip firſt diſplayed that deep and artful policy, which, in the courſe of a long reign, gained him ſuch a powerful aſcendant over the paſſions of other men, and enabled him uniformly to govern his own by the intereſt of his ambition. In the midſt of proſperity, his proud and lofty ſpirit muſt have been highly provoked by the Athenians, as well as by the followers of Argæus; and the barbarous maxims and practices which prevailed in that age, left him at full liberty to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy priſoners of both, who had fallen into his hands.

[50] Diodorus, l. xvi. ſect. 3.
[51] Diodorus, ibid. & Demoſth. in Ariſtocrat.

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But the intereſt of Philip required him rather to ſooth than to irritate the people of Athens, and to obtain by good offices (what he could not command by force) the confidence of his Macedonian ſubjects. The captives of the latter nation were called into his preſence, rebuked with gentleneſs and humanity, admitted to ſwear allegiance to their new maſter, and promiſcuouſly diſtributed in the body of his army. The Athenian priſoners were treated in a manner ſtill more extraordinary[52]. Inſtead of demanding any ranſom for their perſons, he reſtored their baggage unexamined, and entertained them at his table with ſuch condeſcending hoſpitality, that they returned home, full of admiration for the young king, and deeply perſuaded of his attachment and reſpect for their republic[53].

Philip amuſes the Athenians with a treaty of peace and friendſhip. Olymp. cv. 2. A. C. 359.

They had only time to blaze forth the praiſes of Philip, when his ambaſſadors arrived at Athens[54]. He knew that the loſs of Amphipolis principally excited the reſentment of the Athenians; he knew that the intereſt of Macedon required that reſentment to be appeaſed. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he renounced all juriſdiction over Amphipolis,

52 The fair ſide of Philip's character is deſcribed by Diodor. l. xvi. p. 520, & ſeqq. and 539. By Juſt. l. ix. c. viii. The moſt diſadvantageous deſcription of him is given by Demoſthenes, paſſim, and by Athenæus, l. iv. c. xix. l. vi. c. xvii. & l. x. c. x. Cicero ſeems not to have regarded the aſſertions of Demoſthenes, when, in ſpeaking of Philip and Alexander, he ſays, "Alter ſemper magnus, alter ſæpe turpiſſimus." But the artificial character of Philip, which varied with his intereſt, merits neither the panegyrics nor invectives too liberally beſtowed on it.

53 Demoſthenes in Ariſtocrat. 54 Ibid.

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which was formally declared a free and independent city, ſubject only to the government of its own equitable laws [55]. This meaſure, together with the diſtinguiſhed treatment of the Athenian priſoners, inſured the ſucceſs of his embaſſy. An ancient treaty was renewed, that had long ſubſiſted between his father Amyntas and the Athenians. That capricious and unſteady people, not leſs ſuſceptible of gratitude, than prone to anger, were thus lulled into repoſe, at a time when fortune having placed them at the head of Greece, both their preſent power and ancient glory urged them to take the front of the battle againſt Philip. Confiding in the inſidious treaty with that prince, they engaged in a ruinous war with their allies [56]; and ceaſed, during ſeveral years, to make any oppoſition to the ambitious deſigns of the Macedonian.

Philip inſtitutes the order of δορυφοροι, *ſpearmen, companions.* Olymp. cv. 2. A.C. 359.

The young king having given ſuch illuſtrious proofs of his abilities in negociation and war, availed himſelf of the affectionate admiration of his ſubjects to eſtabliſh, during a ſeaſon of tranquillity, ſuch inſtitutions as might maintain and extend his own power, and confirm the ſolid grandeur of Macedon. The laws and maxims which prevailed in the heroic ages, and which, as we have already obſerved, had been early introduced into that kingdom, circumſcribed the royal authority within very narrow bounds. The chiefs and nobles, eſpecially in the more remote provinces, regarded themſelves as the rivals and equals of their ſovereign. In

55 Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17.

56 See vol. iii. c. xxxii.

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foreign war they followed his ſtandard, but they often ſhook his throne by domeſtic ſedition; and, amidſt the ſcanty materials for explaining the internal ſtate of Macedon in ancient times, we may diſcover ſeveral inſtances in which they diſavowed their allegiance, and aſſumed independent government over conſiderable diſtricts of the country [57]. The moment of glory and ſucceſs ſeemed the moſt favourable for extinguiſhing this dangerous ſpirit, and quaſhing the proud hopes of the nobles. In this deſign Philip proceeded with that artful policy which characteriſes his reign. From the braveſt of the Macedonian youth, he choſe a ſelect body of *companions* [58], who, being diſtinguiſhed by honourable appellations, and entertained at the royal table, attended the king's perſon in war and in hunting. Their intimacy with the ſovereign, which was regarded as a proof of their merit, obliged them to ſuperior diligence in all the ſevere duties of a military life [59]. The noble youth, animated with the hope of glory, vied with each other to gain admiſſion into this diſtinguiſhed order; and, while, on one hand, they ſerved as hoſtages [60] for the allegiance of their families, they formed, on the other, an uſeful ſeminary of future generals [61], who, after conquering for Philip and Alexander,

57 Strabo, l. vii. p. 326. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. v.

58 Arrian, & Ælian. 59 Ælian, l. xiv. c. 49.

60 Arrian ſays, "των εν τιλει Μακεδονων τους παιδας," "the ſons of men in office;" which well agrees with the idea of their being hoſtages for the fidelity of their parents. He alſo aſcribes the inſtitution to Philip. Απο Φιλιππου ηδη καθιστηκος. Arrian, l. iv. p. 89.

61 Curtius, l. viii. c. 6.

at

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at length conquered for themſelves, and divided the ſpoils of the ancient world.

His military arrangements.

It is ignorantly ſaid by ſome writers[62], that Philip, in the firſt year of his reign, invented the phalanx, a body of ſix thouſand men, armed with ſhort ſwords, fit either for cutting or thruſting; ſtrong bucklers, four feet in length, and two and a half in breadth; and pikes fourteen cubits long, which uſually arranged ſixteen deep, formed the main battle of the Macedonians. But this is nothing different from the armour and arrangement which had always prevailed among the Greeks, and which Philip adopted in their moſt perfect form; nor is there reaſon to think that a prince, who knew the danger of changing what the experience of ages had approved, made any alteration in the weapons or tactics of that people[63]. His attention was more judiciouſly directed to procure, in ſufficient abundance, arms, horſes, and other neceſſary inſtruments of war; in reviewing and

62 Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi. f. 3. and all the Roman writers of Greek hiſtory. It was natural for the Romans, who began to know Greece and Macedon almoſt at the ſame time, and who found the phalanx moſt complete in the latter, to ſuppoſe it invented in that country.

63 The improvement in the countermarch, to which Philip gave the appearance of advancing, inſtead of retreating, mentioned by Ælian in his tactics, c. xxviii. was borrowed, as this author tells us, from the Lacedæmonians. If Philip increaſed the phalanx, uſually leſs numerous, to ſix thouſand men, this was far from an improvement; and the latter kings of Macedon, who ſwelled it to ſixteen thouſand, only rendered that order of battle more unwieldy and inconvenient. The higheſt perfection of Grecian tactics is to be found in Xenophon's expedition. See vol. iii. c. xxvi. p. 208, & ſeqq. See alſo Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764. & Liv. l. xliv. c. 40.

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exerciſing his troops; and in accuſtoming them to that auſtere and laborious life[64], which is the beſt preparation for the field.

Conquers Pæonia. Olymp. cv. 3. A.C. 358.

The military reſources which his activity had provided, his ambition did not allow to remain long unemployed. The death of Agis, the moſt warlike chieftain, or, as he is called by an hiſtorian[65], king of the Pæonians, drew Philip into the field, to revenge recent injuries which thoſe Barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Among a people where the laws of peace [illegible] lected or unknown, almoſt every thing de[illegible] on the precarious character of their leaders. Deprived of the valour of Agis, the Pæonians loſt all hopes of defence. Philip over-ran their country without reſiſtance; carried off ſlaves and plunder; impoſed a tribute on their chiefs; took hoſtages; and reduced Pæonia to an abſolute dependence on Macedon.

Defeats the Illyrians, and extends his territory to the Ionian ſea.

It is probable that, according to the practice of the age, he permitted or required a certain number of the vanquiſhed to follow his ſtandard; but the Pæonians were no ſooner reduced, than Philip, to whom all ſeaſons ſeemed alike proper for war, undertook a winter's campaign againſt Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and kingdom. He marched towards the frontier of Illyria[66] at the head of ten thouſand foot

64 Polyænus, l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Strat. l. iv. c. 1.

65 Diodorus, l. xvi. ſect. 4.

66 The Greek name of this country is Ἰλλυρίς, but more commonly οἱ Ἰλλυριοί from its inhabitants. Vid. Arrian, l. i. paſſim.

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foot and ſix hundred horſe, and, before entering the country, animated the reſentment and valour of his troops by a military oration, after the cuſtom of the Greeks, whoſe manners he ſeemed, on every occaſion, ambitious to imitate. Indignation of paſt injuries, the honour of his ſubjects, and the glory of his crown, might be topics proper to influence the Macedonian ſoldiers[67], who could not fully enter into the more refined motives of their ſovereign. Illyria had been extended on the eaſt, to the prejudice of Macedon, which it totally excluded from the excellent harbours on the Hadriatic[68]. This was an important conſideration to a prince, who ſeems to have early meditated the raiſing of a naval power. Beſide this, it was impoſſible for Philip to undertake with ſafety the other meaſures which he had in view, ſhould he leave his kingdom expoſed to the predatory incurſions of a neighbouring enemy, who, unleſs they feared Macedon, muſt always be formidable to that country. Directed by ſuch ſolid principles of policy, rather than governed by reſentment, or allured by the ſplendour of victory, Philip proceeded for-

The Latin name is *Illyricum*; moſt Engliſh writers of ancient hiſtory uſe *Illyria*, probably from the French *Illyrie*. The Greek Ιλλυρις is deſcribed by Strabo, l. vii. p. 317. It comprehended the eaſtern ſhore of the Hadriatic, between Epirus and Iſtria. The Latin *Illyricum* had a ſignification far more extenſive. See Gibbon's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 27.

67 The heads of the ſpeech are given, indirectly, in the fragments of Theopompous.

68 Strabo ſays, ἁπαντα τον Ιλλυρικον (ſcilicet χωρον) σφοδρα τυλιμενον τυγχανει; and adds, that the ſhore of Illyria is as abundant, as the oppoſite coaſt of Italy is defective, in good harbours. Strabo, l. vii.

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ward, with the caution neceſſary to be obſerved in an hoſtile territory. After a fruitleſs negociation, Bardyllis met him in the field with an adequate body of infantry, but with only four hundred horſe. The preciſe ſcene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the Illyrian column[69] in front, while the targeteers and light-armed troops galled its flanks, and the cavalry haraſſed its rear. The Illyrians, thus ſurrounded on every ſide, were cruſhed between oppoſite aſſaults, without having an opportunity to exert their full ſtrength[70]. Their reſiſtance, however, muſt have been vigorous, ſince ſeven thouſand were left on the field of battle, and with them their gallant leader Bardyllis, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horſeback. The loſs of their experienced chief, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, broke the ſtrength and courage of the Illyrian tribes, who ſent a deputation to Philip, humbly craving peace, and ſubmitting their fortune to the will of the conqueror. Philip granted them the ſame terms[71] which he had

69 The Illyrians were drawn up in the order of battle called πλινθιον, from πλινθος, a brick; which clearly points out its form.

70 Frontinus Stratag. l. ii. c. 3.

71 It ſhould ſeem from Diodorus, that the Illyrians had entertained the ſame ſuperſtitious terror of neglecting the interment of the dead, which prevailed among the Greeks. Yet Diodorus, perhaps, only uſed a privilege too common among hiſtorians, of tranferring their own feelings to thoſe concerning whom they write. He ſays that Philip, "reſtored their dead, and erected a trophy." Pauſanias (in Bœotic.) denies that either Philip or his ſon Alexander ever erected any of thoſe monuments of victory; which practice, he ſays, was contrary to a Macedonian maxim, eſta-

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had lately impoſed on the Pæonians, *That* part of their country which lies eaſt of the lake Lychnidus he joined to Macedon; and probably built a town and ſettled a colony on the ſide of the lake, which watered a fertile country, and abounded in different kinds of fiſhes, highly eſteemed by the ancients. The town and lake of Lychnidus were fifty miles diſtant from the Ionian ſea; but ſuch was the aſcendant that the arms and policy of Philip acquired over his neighbours, that the inhabitants of the intermediate diſtrict ſoon adopted the language and manners of their conquerors; and their territory, hitherto unconnected with any foreign power, ſunk into ſuch an abſolute dependence on Macedon, that many ancient geographers conſidered it as a province of that country[72].

Philip's deſigns againſt Amphipolis. Olymp. cv. 4. A.C. 357.

Having ſettled the affairs of Illyria, Philip returned home, not to enjoy the ſweets of victory and repoſe, but to purſue more important and more arduous deſigns than thoſe which he had hitherto carried on with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs. He had ſecured and extended the northern and weſtern frontier of Macedon; but the rich ſouthern ſhores, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, preſented at once a more tempting prize, and a more formidable enemy. The confederacy of Olynthus, having thrown off

eſtabliſhed as early as the time of Caranus, when a lion having overturned one of his trophies, the wiſe founder of the monarchy regarded this event as a warning to forbear raiſing them in future. But the medals of Philip and Alexander, of which the reverſe is ſometimes charged with trophies, refute the aſſertion of Pauſanias; which is likewiſe contradicted by Arrian, Curtius, and all the writers of the life, or expedition, of Alexander.

[72] Strabo, l. vii. p. 327.

the

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the yoke of Sparta, had become more powerful than ever. It could ſend into the field ten thouſand heavy-armed men, and a large body of well diſciplined cavalry. Moſt towns of the Chalcidicé had become its allies or ſubjects; and this populous and wealthy province, together with Pangæus on the right, and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were either independent, or ſubject to the Athenians, formed a barrier ſufficient not only to guard the Grecian ſtates againſt Macedon, but even to threaten the ſafety of that kingdom. Every motive concurred to direct the active policy of Philip towards acquiſitions immediately neceſſary in themſelves, and eſſential to the completion of his remote purpoſes. In the courſe of twenty years he accompliſhed his deſigns, and conquered Greece; often varying his means, never changing his end; and notwithſtanding the circumſtances and events that continually thwarted his ambition, we behold the opening and gradual progreſs of a vaſt plan, every ſtep in which paved the way for that which followed, till the whole ended in the moſt ſignal triumph, perhaps, ever attained by human prudence, over courage and fortune.

Importance of that place.

The importance of Olynthus and Chalcidicé could not divert the ſagacity of Philip from Amphipolis, which he regarded as a more neceſſary, though leſs ſplendid, conqueſt. The poſſeſſion of Amphipolis, which would connect Macedon with the ſea, and ſecure to that kingdom many commercial advantages, opened a road to the woods and mines of mount Pangæus, the former of which

was

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was ſo eſſential to the raiſing of a naval power, and the latter to the forming and keeping on foot a ſufficient military force. The place itſelf Philip in the beginning of his reign had declared independent, to avoid a rupture with the Athenians, who ſtill aſſerted their pretenſions to their ancient colony. But their meaſures to regain Amphipolis had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the caprice or perfidy of Charidemus, a native of Eubœa, who, from the common level of a ſoldier of fortune, had riſen to the command of a conſiderable body of mercenaries, frequently employed by the indolence and licentiouſneſs of the Athenians, a people extremely averſe both to the fatigue and reſtraint of perſonal ſervice. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering their dominion, while the Amphipolitans, having taſted the ſweets of liberty, prepared to maintain their independence.

Amphipolis enters into the Olynthian confederacy.

In this poſture of affairs, the hoſtile deſigns of Philip, which all his artifice had not been able to conceal from the ſuſpicious jealouſy of the new republic, alarmed the magiſtrates of Amphipolis, and obliged them to ſeek protection from the Olynthians, who readily admitted them into their confederacy. Emboldened by this alliance, they ſet at defiance the menaces of their neighbouring, as well as of their more diſtant, enemy; and their imprudent inſolence readily furniſhed Philip with ſpecious grounds of hoſtility. The Olynthians perceived that the indignation of this prince muſt ſoon break forth into action, and overwhelm the Amphi-

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Amphipolitans; while they themſelves might be involved in the ruin of their new confederate. To anticipate this danger, they ſent ambaſſadors to Athens, requeſting an alliance with that republic againſt the natural enemy of both ſtates, and an enemy whoſe ſucceſsful activity rendered him a juſt object of terror.

The intrigues of Philip prevent an alliance between Athens and Olynthus.

This alliance, had it taken place, muſt have given a fatal blow to the riſing greatneſs of Macedon, which as yet was incapable to contend with the united ſtrength of Olynthus and Athens. The ſpies and emiſſaries of Philip (for he had already begun to employ thoſe odious, but neceſſary, inſtruments of policy) immediately gave the alarm. The prince himſelf was deeply ſenſible of the danger, and determined to repel it with equal vigour and celerity. His agents reached Athens before any thing was concluded with the Olynthian deputies. The popular leaders and orators were bribed and gained; the magiſtrates and ſenate were flattered and deceived by the moſt plauſible declarations and promiſes. A negociation was immediately ſet on foot, by which Philip ſtipulated to conquer Amphipolis for the Athenians, on condition that they ſurrendered to him Pydna, a place of far leſs importance. He promiſed, beſides, to confer many other advantages on the republic, which it was not proper at preſent to mention, but which time would reveal[73]. Amuſed by the arti-

[73] Και το θρυλλουμενον ποτε απορρητον εκεινο. Demoſthen. Olynth. i. p. 6. edit. Wolfii. It is ſtrange that Wolfius has changed the order of the Olynthian orations, ſo diſtinctly marked by Dion. Halicarn. in his letter to Ammæus.

fices

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fices of the Macedonian, deceived by the perfidy of their own magiſtrates, and elated with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, the great object of their ambition, the ſenate of the Five Hundred (for the tranſaction was carried on with ſuch haſte as allowed not time for aſſembling the people) rejected with diſdain the overtures of the Olynthians[74], who returned home diſguſted and indignant.

Artifices by which he gained the Olynthians.

They had ſcarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the angry paſſions which agitated their own breaſts, when the ambaſſadors of Philip craved audience in the aſſembly of Olynthus. That artful prince affected to condole with the Olynthians on the affront which they had received from the inſolence of Athens; but at the ſame time teſtified his ſurpriſe, that they ſhould condeſcend to court the diſtant protection of that proud republic, when they might find in Macedon an ally near at hand, who wiſhed for nothing more earneſtly than to enter into equal and laſting engagements with their confederacy. As a proof of his moderation and ſincerity, he offered immediately to put them in poſſeſſion of Anthemus, a town of ſome importance in their neighbourhood, the juriſdiction of which had long been claimed by the kings of Macedon[75]; at the ſame time aſſuring them of his intentions to deſerve their gratitude by ſtill more important ſervices, and particularly by employing his arms to

74 Demoſthenes expreſſes it in the ſtrongeſt terms, as if they had driven the Olynthians from Athens: ὅτι Ὀλυνθίους ἀπηλάυνον τινες ἐνθενδε." Demoſthen. Olynth. i. p. 6.

75 Demoſthen. Philip. ii. 4.

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reduce the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, commanding the oppoſite ſides of the Thermaic gulph; places, therefore, of conſiderable value, which he wiſhed to ſee dependent on Olynthus, rather than, as at preſent, ſubject to Athens.

Philip beſieges Amphipolis. Olymp. cv. 4. A.C. 357.

The immediate offers of Philip, his profeſſions and promiſes, in which, as they ſuited his intereſt, he doubtleſs was ſincere, and ſtill more, his ſecret practices with ſome powerful men of Olynthus, effectually prevailed with that republic to abandon the cauſe of Amphipolis, whoſe imprudent inhabitants had been at little pains to prevent thoſe offences and complaints which naturally ariſe between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy. By theſe intrigues, the Macedonian not only removed all oppoſition to his views on the part of the Olynthians, but acquired the ſincere friendſhip of that people, who were ready to aſſiſt his arms, and to ſecond his moſt ambitious deſigns. He therefore prepared for action, becauſe he might now act with ſafety; marched rapidly towards Amphipolis, and preſſed that city with a vigorous ſiege. The inhabitants, deeply affected by the near proſpect of a calamity which they had taken little care to prevent, had recourſe, in their diſtreſs, to Athens. Thither they diſpatched Hierax and Stratocles, two of their moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens, to repreſent the danger of an alliance between Philip and Olynthus; to intreat the Athenians to accept the ſincere repentance of their unfortunate colony, and once more to take Amphipolis under the protection of their fleet.

At

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Amuſes the Athenians.

At that time the Athenians were deeply engaged in the ſocial war; yet the hopes of recovering ſo important a ſettlement might have directed their attention to Macedon, had not the vigilant policy of Philip ſent them a letter, renewing the aſſurances of his friendſhip, acknowledging their pretenſions to the city, which he actually beſieged, and of which he artfully ſaid, that, in terms of his recent engagement, he hoped ſhortly to put them in poſſeſſion. Amuſed by theſe inſinuating repreſentations, the Athenians treated the deputies of Amphipolis with as little reſpect as they had lately done thoſe of Olynthus. The beſieged city was thus deprived of all hopes of relief; Philip preſſed the attack with new vigour; a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after an obſtinacy of defence which could have no other effect than to provoke the reſentment of the conqueror, at length ſurrendered at diſcretion[76].

Amphipolis ſurrenders. Olymp. cv. 4. A.C. 357.

Is annexed to Macedon.

The prudent Macedonian always preferred his own profit to the puniſhment of his enemies. It was his intereſt to preſerve and to aggrandiſe, not to depopulate, Amphipolis. He baniſhed a few daring leaders, whoſe ſeditious or patriotic ſpirit might diſturb the meaſures of his government. The bulk of the citizens were treated with ſufficient mildneſs. Their territory was reunited to Macedon, from which Philip reſolved that it ſhould never be diſmembered, notwithſtanding his promiſes to the Athenians.

[76] Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. Demoſthen. Olynth. iii. ſect. 4—7.

That

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Philip puts the Olynthians in poſſeſſion of Pydna and Potidæa.

That he might arm himſelf againſt the reſentment of a people, whom, if he could not deceive, he was determined to defy, he cultivated, with great earneſtneſs, the Olynthian confederacy; and having beſieged and taken the towns of Pydna and Potidæa, he readily ceded them to the Olynthians, who had but feebly aſſiſted him in making theſe conqueſts. In the whole tranſaction Philip affected to act merely as an auxiliary. The Athenian garriſon in Potidæa, who had ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, he took under his immediate protection, and diſmiſſed them without ranſom, artfully lamenting that the neceſſity of his affairs and his alliance with Olynthus, obliged him to oppoſe the intereſts of their republic, for which he entertained the moſt ſincere reſpect[77].

Philip purſues his conqueſts in Thrace.

It is impoſſible that the Athenians, weak and credulous as they were, ſhould have been the dupes of this groſs artifice. But they could not immediately withdraw their exertions from the ſocial war, the events of which grew continually more unproſperous. Philip, ever vigilant and active, profited of this favourable diverſion, to purſue his conqueſts in Thrace, to which the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis afforded him an opening. In the beginning of his reign, he had found it neceſſary to purchaſe a peace from Cotys, who ſtill governed that country, but from whom Philip could not actually apprehend any formidable oppoſition. The late acquaintance of that Barbarian with the Grecian

77 Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. & Demoſth. Philip. ii. & Olynth. i.

religion

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religion and manners, which he had adopted in conſequence of his connection with Iphicrates and the Athenians, ſerved only to deprave his faculties and to cloud his reaſon. We ſhould pronounce abſolutely mad, the man who fancied himſelf enamoured of Minerva; but the ancients, who believed that the gods often appeared in a human form, regarded with more tenderneſs this frantic enthuſiaſm. Cotys was allowed to poſſeſs his freedom and his crown, whether, with his ambulatory court, he traverſed the inhoſpitable mountains of Thrace, or pitched his tents on the fragrant banks of the Strymon or the Neſſus; or, to enjoy with more privacy the favours of his celeſtial miſtreſs, penetrated into the deep receſſes of the beautiful foreſts which adorned his kingdom.

Takes poſſeſſion of the gold-mines at Crenidæ, afterwards called Philippi. Olymp. cv. 4. A.C. 357.

At the approach of the Macedonians, having abandoned the grove of Onocarſis, the favourite ſcene of his wild and romantic enjoyments[78], he endeavoured to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy by a letter; but a letter from ſuch a man could excite nothing but ridicule or pity. Philip penetrated eaſtward thirty miles beyond Amphipolis, to the town of Crenidæ, ſituated at the foot of Mount Pangæus, and diſtant ten miles from the ſea. He admired the ſolitary beauty of the place, which being bounded on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by lofty mountains, was watered by many ſtreams and rivulets, which, tempering the dryneſs of the ſoil, produced the fineſt and moſt delicious

[78] Theopomp. apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 531.

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fruit, and flowers, eſpecially roſes, of a peculiar hue and fragrancy. But the attention of Philip was attracted by objects more important, by the gold-mines in that neighbourhood, formerly wrought by colonies from Thaſos and from Athens, but totally neglected ſince the ignorant Thracians had become maſters of Crenidæ. Philip expelled thoſe Barbarians from a poſſeſſion which they ſeemed unworthy to hold. Having deſcended into the gold-mines, he traced, by the help of torches, the decayed labours of the ancient proprietors. By his care the water was drained off; the canals, broken or choaked up, were repaired; and the boſom of the earth was again opened and ranſacked[79] with eager avidity by a prince who well knew the value of the precious metals. A Macedonian colony was planted at Crenidæ, which thenceforth aſſumed the name of Philippi[80], a name beſtowed alſo on the golden coins ſtruck by order of Philip[81], to the annual amount of nearly a thouſand talents, or two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling[82].

Philip ſettles the affairs of Theſſaly.

Having effected the main purpoſe of his Thracian expedition, the prudence of Philip ſet bounds

79 Senec. Natur. Quæſt. l. v. p. 760. & Demoſthen. in Leptin.

80 The fatal defeat and death of Brutus and Caſſius have eclipſed, in their melancholy ſplendour, all the preceding events which diſtinguiſh Philippi. There liberty expired, and virtue yielded to force.

Cum fracta virtus, & minaces
Turpe ſolum tetigere mento. HORACE.

81 Regale nomiſma Philippos.

82 Diodor. l. xvi. c. ix. Juſtin. l. viii. c. iii. ſpeaks differently: but the whole of that chapter bears evident marks of ignorance and error.

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to his conqueſts in that country, and carried his arms into Theſſaly, which, by the murder of Alexander of Pheræ, had got three tyrants inſtead of one. Theſe were, Tiſiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, the brothers-in-law, the aſſaſſins, and the ſucceſſors of Alexander. The reſentment of the Theſſalians, and the valour of the Macedonian troops, totally defeated thoſe oppreſſors of their country, who were reduced to ſuch humiliating terms as ſeemed ſufficient to prevent them from being thenceforth formidable either to their own ſubjects or to their neighbours [83]. The Theſſalians, who were ſuſceptible of all impreſſions, but incapable of preſerving any, concluded, in the firſt emotions of their gratitude, an agreement with their deliverer, by which they ſurrendered to him the revenues ariſing from their fairs and towns of commerce, as well as all the conveniencies of their harbours and ſhipping; and extraordinary as this ceſſion was, Philip found means to render it effectual and permanent [84].

Advantages which he derived from that country.

He immediately contracted an alliance with Arybbas, king of Epirus, a ſmall principality which ſkirted the weſtern frontier of Theſſaly. In his excurſions from Thebes, Philip had early ſeen Olympias, the ſiſter of that prince, whoſe wit and ſpirit, joined to the lively graces of her youth and beauty, had made a deep impreſſion on his heart. They were initiated, at the ſame time, in the myſteries of Ceres, during the triennial feſtival in the

Philip marries Olympias. Olymp. cv. 4. A.C. 357.

83 Diodor. l. xvi. c. xiv. & Plut. in Pelopid.

84 Demoſth. Philip. I. 10. Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. xix.

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iſle of Samothrace, which had been long as much diſtinguiſhed as Eleuſis [85] itſelf, by the peculiar worſhip and protection of this bountiful goddeſs. But the active ambition, which employed and engroſſed the firſt years of Philip's reign, had probably baniſhed the memory of his love, when his expedition into Theſſaly recalled the image of Olympias. Their firſt interview naturally revived his tender paſſions; and, as the kings of Epirus were lineally deſcended from Achilles, the match appeared every way ſuitable; Arybbas readily yielded his conſent, and the beautiful princeſs was conducted into Macedon [86].

During the ſolemnities of his nuptials, the neighbouring princes take arms.

The nuptials of Philip were ſolemniſed at Pella with unuſual pomp and ſplendour. Several months were deſtined to religious ſhows and proceſſions, to gymnaſtic games and exerciſes, to muſical and dramatic entertainments. The young and fortunate prince naturally took a principal ſhare in all theſe ſcenes of feſtivity; and it is probable that, amidſt the more elegant amuſements of his court, Philip might diſcover that ſtrong propenſity to vicious indulgence, that delight in buffoons and flatterers, and other diſgraceful miniſters of his more criminal pleaſures, which, however counteracted and balanced by his ambition and magnanimity, diſgraced and tarniſhed the ſucceeding glories of his reign. It is certain that the voluptuous inactivity in which he ſeemed ſunk, encouraged the hopes of his enemies [87]. The tributary princes of

85 See vol. iii. c. xxi. p. 46.
86 Juſtin. l. vii. c. vi.
87 Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxii.

Pæonia

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Pæonia and Illyria prepared to rebel; the king of Thrace engaged in their deſigns, which were concerted with more caution than is uſual with Barbarians; and this general conſpiracy of neighbouring ſtates might have repreſſed for a while the fortune of Macedon, if Philip had not been ſeaſonably informed of the danger by his faithful partiſans and emiſſaries in thoſe countries.

Philip quaſhes their conſpiracy. Olymp. cvi. 1. A.C. 356.

Early in the enſuing ſpring he took the field with the flower of the Macedonian troops. Parmenio, the general in whom he had moſt confidence, cruſhed the rebellion in Illyria. Philip was equally ſucceſsful in Pæonia and Thrace. While he returned from the latter, he was informed of the victory of Parmenio. A ſecond meſſenger acquainted him that his horſes had gained the prize in the chariot-races at the Olympic games; a victory which he regarded as far more honourable, and which, as it proved him a legitimate ſon of Greece, he carefully commemorated, by impreſſing a chariot on his coins. Almoſt at the ſame time a third meſſenger arrived to tell him that Olympias had brought forth a prince at Pella; to whom, as born amidſt ſuch auſpicious circumſtances, the diviners announced the greateſt proſperity[88] and glory.

Philip's letter to Ariſtotle, announcing the birth of Alexander.

Such a rapid tide of good fortune did not overſet the wiſdom of Philip, if we may judge by the firſt authentic tranſaction which immediately followed thoſe events. This was the correſpondence

[88] Plut. in Alexand.

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with Ariſtotle the philoſopher, whoſe merit Philip had early diſcerned at Athens, when he ſtill reſided with his maſter Plato. The firſt letter (fortunately preſerved) is written with a brevity which marks the king and the man of genius. "Know that a ſon is born to us. We thank the gods, not ſo much for their gift, as for beſtowing it at a time when Ariſtotle lives. We aſſure ourſelves that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and worthy of Macedon." Ariſtotle commenced this illuſtrious employment about thirteen years afterwards[89], when the opening mind of Alexander might be ſuppoſed capable of receiving the benefit of his inſtructions. The ſucceſs of his labours will be explained in the ſequel. The fortune of Alexander ſurpaſſed that of all other conquerors as much as his virtues ſurpaſſed his fortune.

89 The chronology appears from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus's letter to Ammæus, who, in order to prove that Demoſthenes had attained the higheſt perfection in the practice, before Ariſtotle had delivered the theory, of eloquence, marks, with great exactneſs, the principal events in the lives of the philoſopher and orator. Ariſtotle, a native of Stagira, came to Athens in his eighteenth year, 367 A. C. There he continued twenty years, as the ſcholar or aſſiſtant of Plato, who died 348 A. C. Ariſtotle left Athens on the death of his maſter, and ſpent three years at Atarnæus, and two at Mytelené. From thence he went to Macedon, in the forty-third year of his age, and 343 years A. C. He was employed eight years in the education of Alexander. He returned to Athens 335 A. C. taught twelve years in the Lycæum, and died the year following at Chalcis, ætat. ſixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander. Dionyſius ad Ammæum. He reckons by the Archons of Athens; I have ſubſtituted the years before Chriſt.

Yet the fame of the philoſopher abundantly repays the honour reflected on him by his royal pupil, ſince ſixteen centuries after the ſubverſion of Alexander's empire, the writings of Ariſtotle ſtill maintained an unexampled aſcendant over the opinions, and even over the actions of men.

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Philip's Proſperity.—Imprudent Meaſures of the Amphictyonic Council.—The Phocian, or Sacred War.—Philomelus ſeizes the Temple of Delphi.—Takes the Field againſt the Thebans and their Allies.—Defeat and Death of Philomelus.—Affairs of Thrace, Macedon, and Attica.—Onemarchus takes the Command of the Phocians—Encounters Philip in Theſſaly.—He is defeated and ſlain.—Philip's Deſigns againſt Olynthus and Byzantium.—Traverſed by the Athenians.—Phayllus takes the Command of the Phocians.—Philip marches towards Thermopylæ.—Anticipated by the Athenians.—Demoſthenes's firſt Philippic.—Philip's Occupations at Pella.—His Vices—and Policy.

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Proſperity of Philip in the fifth year of his reign. Olymp. cvii. 1. A.C. 356.

PHILIP had now reigned almoſt five years. He had greatly enlarged the boundaries, he had ſtill more augmented the revenues, of his kingdom. Pæonia, no longer the rival, was become an obſequious province of Macedon. At the expence of Thrace and Illyria, he had extended his frontier on the eaſt to the ſea of Thaſos; on the weſt to the lake Lychnidus. He was maſter of Theſſaly without having the trouble to govern it. He ſecured many commercial advantages by the poſſeſſion of Amphipolis. His troops were numerous

merous and well diſciplined; his large finances were regulated with œconomy; and the mines of Philippi furniſhed him with an annual reſource alike uſeful to his deſign, whether he purſued the ambitious career of foreign conqueſt, or ſet himſelf to build up and conſolidate the internal grandeur of his dominions.

His profound and impenetrable policy.

The power of Philip was admired, and feared, by thoſe who were unable to penetrate the deep principles of his policy, which alone rendered him really formidable. The firſt and moſt natural object of his deſire was the territory of Olynthus, the moſt populous and fertile portion of the Macedonian coaſt. His ſecond and far more arduous purpoſe was to obtain the ſovereignty of Greece. But inſtead of diſcovering theſe deſigns, he had hitherto cultivated the Olynthians with a careful aſſiduity, and had deſerved their gratitude by many ſolid and important ſervices. His ſucceſs had been complete, and if, elated by the many advantages which we have enumerated, he had already prepared to invade Greece, it is more than probable that the Olynthians would have conſented to follow his ſtandard. But Philip was ſenſible, that by ſnatching too eagerly at this glorious prize, he might deſtroy for ever his proſpect of obtaining it. While the Athenians were occupied and haraſſed by the deſtructive war with their confederates, he had, indeed, embraced the opportunity to gain poſſeſſion of ſeveral of their dependent ſettlements in Thrace and Macedon; colouring, however, theſe proceedings by the pretence of juſtice or neceſſity, and

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and tempering even his hoſtilities by many partial acts of kindneſs and reſpect. Before the ſocial war was ended, the ſeeds of diſſenſion, ſo profuſely ſcattered in Greece, were likely to ripen into a new quarrel far more general and important. Philip patiently waited their maturity. His hopes were founded on the domeſtic animoſities of Greece; but the too early diſcovery of his ſyſtem might have united an hundred thouſand[1] warriors againſt their common enemy; whereas, by the ſecret refinements of a ſlow and ſteady policy, he effected his vaſt purpoſes without being obliged, on any one occaſion, to fight againſt thirty thouſand men.

He carefully watches the imprudent meaſures of the Amphictyonic council;

The Amphictyons having recovered their authority in conſequence of the events which have formerly been deſcribed, began early to diſplay thoſe dangerous paſſions with which the exerciſe of uncontrouled power too naturally corrupts the heart. They pretended, that during the decline of their juriſdiction, many unwarrantable abuſes had been introduced, which it became them to remedy. The rights of religion (they ſaid), which it was their firſt duty to maintain, had been materially violated by the Phocians, who, alike regardleſs of the deciſion of the oracle, and of an Amphictyonic decree, had ploughed lands conſecrated to

[1] The number is choſen as a very *moderate* medium between the two hundred and twenty thouſand men, afterwards promiſed to Philip in the general convention of the ſtates at Corinth for the ſervice of the Perſian expedition, and the eighty thouſand which the Greeks actually raiſed againſt Xerxes, and which Thucydides ſays, that the Peloponneſian confederacy alone could ſend into Attica.

Apollo,

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Apollo, and therefore withdrawn from agriculture[2]. Theſe lands, however, were confined to the narrow diſtrict between the river Cephiſſus and Mount Thurium, on the weſtern frontier of Bœotia. The crime of the Phocians, (if their uſeful labours deſerve the name of crime) was neither great nor unprecedented, ſince the Locrians of Amphiſſa had long cultivated the Criſſæan plain; a more extenſive territory, and conſecrated to the god by far more awful ceremonies[3]. But the proud tyranny of the Amphictyons, careleſs of ſuch diſtinctions, fulminated an angry decree againſt Phocis, commanding the ſacred lands to be laid waſte, and impoſing a heavy fine on that community.

which are principally abetted by the Thebans;

It is believed that the Thebans, the enemies and neighbours of Phocis, and whoſe influence at that time predominated in the council, were the principal abettors of this arbitrary meaſure[4]; a ſuppoſition rendered probable by the enſuing deliberations of the Amphictyons. Their next ſentence was directed againſt Sparta, to puniſh the injury of Phæbidas, who, in time of peace, had ſurpriſed and ſeized the Theban citadel. This breach of public faith, however criminal and flagrant, had been committed ſo many years before, that prudence required it to be for ever buried in obſcurity. But, at the inſtigation of the Thebans, the Amphictyons brought it once more to light; commanded the Lacedæmonians to pay a fine of five hundred talents; decreed that the fine ſhould

[2] See vol. i. c. v. p. 224.
[3] See vol. i. c. v. p. 222, & ſeqq.
[4] Juſtin. l. viii. c. i. & ſeqq.

be

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be doubled, unleſs paid within an appointed time; and if the decree were finally diſregarded, that the Lacedæmonians ſhould be treated as public enemies to Greece[5].

who excite the reſentment of the Phocians, Olymp. cv. 4. A.C. 357.

The Phocians, ſingled out as the firſt victims of oppreſſion, were deeply affected by their danger. To pay the money demanded of them exceeded their faculties. It would be grievous to deſolate the fields which their own hands had cultivated with ſo much toil. The commands of the Amphictyons were indeed peremptory; but that council had not on foot any ſufficient force to render them effectual, ſhould the devoted objects of their vengeance venture to diſpute their authority. This meaſure, daring as it ſeemed, was ſtrongly recommended by Philomelus, whoſe popular eloquence and valour gave him a powerful aſcendant in Phocis. He poſſeſſed great hereditary wealth; contemned the national ſuperſtition; and being endowed with a bold ambitious ſpirit, he expected to riſe amidſt the tumult of action and danger, to unrivalled pre-eminence in his republic. After repeated deliberations, in which he flattered the vanity, and tempted the avarice of his countrymen, by proving, that to them of right belonged the guardianſhip of the Delphian temple, and the immenſe treaſures contained within its ſacred walls[6],

5 Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxiii. & ſeqq.

6 Philomelus cited the reſpectable authority of Homer:

Αυταρ Φωκεων Σχεδιος και Επιστροφος ηρχον
Οι Κυπαρισσον ειχον Πυθωνα τε πετρηεσσαν.

"But Schedius and Epiſtrophus led the Phocians, who inhabited Cypariſſus, and the rocky Python," the ancient name of Delphi.

he

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he brought the majority of the ſenate and aſſembly into his opinion. As the propereſt inſtrument to execute his own meaſures, Philomelus was named general: the Phocian youth flocked to his ſtandard; and his private fortune, as well the public revenues, were conſumed in purchaſing the mercenary aid of thoſe needy adventurers, who abounded in every province of Greece.

The Phocians under Philomelus prepare for war, and engage the Spartans in their cauſe. Olymp. cvi. 1. A.C. 356.

The following year was employed by Philomelus in providing arms, in exerciſing his troops, and in an embaſſy which he undertook in perſon to Sparta. As that community had not diſcharged the fine impoſed by the Amphictyons, the penalty was doubled, and the delinquents were condemned to pay a thouſand talents. The exorbitance of this impoſition might have juſtified the Spartans in following the example of Phocis, and ſetting the Amphictyons at defiance. But Archidamus, who poſſeſſed all the caution and addreſs of his father Ageſilaus, was unwilling to take a principal part in the firſt dangerous experiment, and to poſt himſelf in the front of battle, againſt the revered decrees of an aſſembly, conſidered as the legal guardian of national religion and liberty. He aſſured Philomelus that both himſelf and the Spartans fully approved his cauſe; that reaſons of a temporary nature hindered their declaring themſelves openly, but that he might depend on ſecret ſupplies of men and money[7].

7 Ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ἀποδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον, φανερῶς μὲν, κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, οὐκ ἐφήσει βοηθήσειν, λάθρᾳ δὲ πάντα συμπράξειν, χορηγῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ μισθοφόρους. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 426.

Encou-

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Philomelus ſeizes the temple of Delphi. Olymp. cvi. 2. A.C. 355.

Encouraged by this aſſurance, and by a conſiderable ſum[s] immediately put into his hands, Philomelus, at his return, ventured on a meaſure not leſs audacious than unexpected. The temple of Delphi, ſo awfully guarded by ſuperſtition, was ſcarcely defended by any military force. Philomelus, having prepared the imagination of his followers for this bold enterpriſe, immediately conducted them towards Delphi, defeated the feeble reſiſtance of the Thracidæ, who inhabited the neighbouring diſtrict, and entered the ſacred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror. The Delphians, who expected no mercy from a man devoid of reſpect for religion, prepared themſelves in ſilent horror, for beholding the complicated guilt of ſacrilege and murder. But the countenance of Philomelus re-aſſured them, and his diſcourſe totally diſpelled their ill-grounded fears. He declared that he had come to Delphi with no hoſtile diſpoſition againſt the inhabitants, with no ſacrilegious deſigns againſt the temple. His principal motive was to emancipate the one and the other from the arbitrary proceedings of the Amphictyons, and to aſſert the ancient and unalienable prerogative of Phocis to be the patron and protector of the Delphian ſhrine. To the ſame purpoſe he ſcattered declarations through the different republics of Greece; his emiſſaries acquainted the Spartans that he had deſtroyed the brazen tablets containing the unjuſt decrees againſt Sparta and Phocis; they inflamed the reſentment of the Athenians, naturally

[s] Diodorus (l. xvi. p. 426.) ſays fifteen talents.

hoſtile

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hoſtile to Thebes; and both thoſe republics came to the reſolution of ſupporting the meaſures of Philomelus.

Employs the ſacred treaſure in raiſing mercenaries.

The Thebans, on the other hand, who *directed*, and the Locrians, Theſſalians, with other ſtates of leſs conſideration, who tamely *obeyed* the decrees of the Amphictyons, determined to take the field in defence of their inſulted religion and violated laws. Their operations were conducted with that extreme ſlowneſs natural to confederacies. Philomelus acted with more vigour. He received little aſſiſtance from his diſtant allies. But, firſt, by impoſing a heavy tax on the Delphians, who had been enriched by the devotion of Greece, and then, notwithſtanding his declaration, by taking very undue liberties with the treaſure of Apollo[9], he collected above ten thouſand mercenaries, men daring and profligate as himſelf, who ſacrificed all ſcruples of religion to the hopes of dividing a rich ſpoil. Such at leaſt was the general character of his followers. To the few who had more piety, or leſs avarice, he endeavoured to juſtify his meaſures by the authority of an oracle. The Pythia at firſt refuſed to mount the ſacred tripod. Philomelus ſternly commanded her. She obeyed with reluctance, obſerving, that being already maſter of Delphi, he might act without ſanction or controul[10]. Philomelus waited for no other anſwer, but gladly interpreted the words as an acknow-

9 Diodorus ſometimes acknowledges, and ſometimes denies, that Philomelus meddled with the ſacred treaſure.

10 Αποφθεγξαμενης δε αυτης προς την υπερβολην της βιαζομενου "ότι εξεστι αυτῳ πραττειν ὁ θελοι." Diodor. p. 428.

ledgment

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ledgment of his abſolute authority; and, with the addreſs ſuitable to his ſituation and character, confirmed the auſpicious declaration of the prieſteſs by the report of many favourable omens [11].

Takes the field againſt the Thebans and their allies. Olymp. cvi. 2. A.C. 355.

Having obtained the ſuppoſed ſanction of religion, Philomelus proceeded to fortify the temple and city of Delphi, in which he placed a ſtrong garriſon; and, with the remainder of his forces, boldly marched forth to repel the incurſions of the enemy. During two years, hoſtilities were carried on with various fortune againſt the Locrians and Thebans. Victory for the moſt part inclined to the Phocians; but there happened not any deciſive action, nor was the war memorable on any other account but that of the exceſſive cruelty mutually inflicted and ſuffered. The Phocian priſoners were uniformly condemned to death, as wretches convicted of the moſt abominable ſacrilege and impiety; and the reſentment of their countrymen retaliated with equal ſeverity on the unhappy captives whom the chance of war frequently put into their hands [12].

Philomelus defeated. Olymp. cvi. 4. A.C. 353.

As both armies anxiouſly expected reinforcements, they were unwilling to riſk a general engagement, till chance rendered that meaſure unavoidable. Entangled among the woods and mountains of Phocis, the conveniency of forage attracted them towards the ſame point. The vanguards met unexpectedly near the town of Neone, and began to ſkirmiſh. A general and fierce action followed, in which the Phocians were repelled

11 Diodor. p. 429. 12 Ibid. p. 530, & ſeqq.

by

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by ſuperior numbers. Pathleſs woods, abrupt rocks and precipices, obſtructed their retreat. In vain Philomelus ſtrove with his voice and arm to rally the fugitives. He himſelf was carried along by the torrent to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and ſtill more with anguiſh and deſpair. The enemy advanced; it ſeemed impoſſible to eſcape their vengeance; the reſolution of Philomelus was prompt and terrible; with a vigorous bound he ſprang from the rock, thus eluding the torment of his own guilty conſcience, and the reſentment of his purſuers [13]. While the Thebans and their allies admired this ſpectacle as a manifeſt indication of divine vengeance [14], Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected and drew off the ſcattered remains of the vanquiſhed army towards Delphi. The confederates determined to expel them from that holy place, and to inflict on the enemies of Greece and Heaven, a puniſhment ſimilar to that to which the wrath of Apollo had driven the impious Philomelus [15].

The Spartans attempt to recover their dominion in

Different cauſes concurred to prevent Philip on the one hand, and Athens and Sparta on the other, from taking a principal or early part in the Phocian war. The intereſted policy of Archidamus,

13 Diodorus hints, that had Philomelus been taken captive, his body would have been ſhockingly mangled: φοβηθεις την εκ της αιχμαλωσιας αικιαν. p. 432.

14 Such it appeared to future hiſtorians: και τουτον τον τροπον, ὡς των δαιμονιων δικας καταστρεψε τον βιον. Diodor. ibid.

15 Diodor. l. xvi. p. 432.

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the Peloponneſus. Olymp. cvi. 3. A.C. 353.

who directed with abſolute authority the councils of Sparta, was leſs anxious to ſupport the arms of his diſtant confederates, than ſolicitous to recover the Lacedæmonian dominion in Peloponneſus. The opportunity ſeemed favourable for this purpoſe, the Thebans being deeply engaged in another conteſt, and the Athenians in ſtrict alliance with Sparta. For ſeveral years, the arms and intrigues of Archidamus were employed againſt the Meſſenians, Arcadians, and Argives. But his ambitious deſign failed of ſucceſs; the inferior cities of Peloponneſus, rouſed by a common danger, confederated for their mutual defence; and Athens, though actually the ally of Sparta, was unwilling to abandon to the tyranny of that republic her more ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Meſſenians [16].

The affairs of Thrace occupy Philip and the Athenians.

While the politics of the Peloponneſus formed a ſyſtem apart, the ſacred war ſhook the centre of Greece, and the affairs of Thrace occupied Philip and the Athenians. Cotys was dead; his ſons, Kerſobleptes, Beriſades, and Amadocus, were all diſſatisfied with the partition of his dominions. While their hoſtilities againſt each other exhibited the odious picture of fraternal diſcord, the prizes for which they contended were ſucceſſively carried off by Philip. The encroachments of that prince

16 The queſtion appears to have occaſioned warm debates in the Athenian aſſembly: the Spartan and Arcadian parties were animated with the utmoſt zeal; and, according to the lively obſervation of Demoſthenes, the Athenian orators, had they not ſpoke the Attic dialect, would have appeared, the one half Spartans, the other Arcadians. Demoſthen. pro Megalop. p. 83.

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at length engaged Kerſobleptes, the moſt powerful of the co-heirs, to cede the Thracian Cherſoneſus to the Athenians, who ſent Chares with a numerous fleet to take poſſeſſion of that peninſula. The town of Seſtos alone made reſiſtance. It was taken by ſtorm, and treated with great ſeverity by Chares; while Philip beſieged and took the far more important city of Methoné in Pieria. In this ſiege he loſt an eye, a loſs which he is ſaid to have borne with impatience[17], as the circumſtances attending it were alike diſhonourable to his judgment and humanity[18].

Onomarchus takes the command of the Phocians. Olymp. cvi. 4. A.C. 353.

It appears extraordinary that the Thebans, after the defeat and death of Philomelus, ſhould not have purſued their good fortune, without allowing the enemy time to breathe and recover ſtrength. They probably imagined that the fatal exit of that daring chief would deter a ſucceſſor; and that the

17 Lucian de Scribend. Hiſt. p. 365.

18 Theſe circumſtances, however, reſt on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian. It is ſaid, that when the arrow was extracted, the following inſcription appeared on it: "After to Philip's right eye." After, it ſeems, had offered his ſervices to Philip, as an excellent markſman; to which Philip replied, that he would employ him when he waged war with ſtarlings. Philip cauſed the arrow to be ſhot back into the place, with a new inſcription, "That he would hang up After;" a threat which was executed as ſoon as he was maſter of Methoné. Fictions ſtill more incredible were related on this ſubject by the fabulous writers of the age of Alexander. Philip, it was ſaid, loſt his right eye by his unſeaſonable curioſity in prying into the amours of Olympias and Jupiter Ammon. This ridiculous flattery to Alexander has been ſo widely diffuſed, that it was ſuppoſed to be the ſubject repreſented on the celebrated vaſe, which is ſo much better explained by Mr. D'Hancarville. See Recherches ſur les Arts de la Grêce, vol. ii.

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Phocians would crave peace, if not driven to despair. Such indeed was the resolution of the more respectable part of the Phocians. But the bold, impious, and needy, who composed the most numerous description of that people, were bent on continuing the war. An assembly was convened, when Onomarchus, in a set speech[19], flattered their hopes, and encouraged them to persevere. His opinion prevailed; he was named general; and his conduct soon proved, that he equalled his brother in boldness and ambition, and surpassed him in activity and enterprise. None better knew the power of gold, or had more address in employing it. With the Delphic treasure he coined such a quantity of money as perhaps had never before circulated in Greece. The Phocian army was restored and augmented; their allies were rendered more hearty in their cause; even their enemies were not proof against the temptations which continually assailed their fidelity. By seasonable bribes, Onomarchus distracted the councils of Thebes, and kept their arms inactive. The neighbouring states were persuaded to observe a neutrality; while the Thessalians, a people at all times noted for avarice and fraud[20], and of whose country

19 Πεφροντισμενον λογον διελθων. Diodor. p. 432.

20 The Thessalians had the same character in Greece, as the Ligurians in Italy:

——— Vane Ligus
Nequicquam patrias tentâsti lubricas artes. VIRG.

Euripides speaks of the slippery deceits of the Thessalians. Demosthenes (Olynth. i. p. 4. ex edit. Wolf.) says, ειτα τα των θετταλων· ταυτα γαρ ἀπηστα μεν ην δη πῳ φυσει, και αιει πασι ανθρωποις. "Philip was farther distressed by the insurrections of the Thessalians, a people faithless by nature, at all times, to all men."

the

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the proverb ſaid, that it had never produced a bad horſe or an honeſt man, openly embraced the cauſe of Phocis.

Succeſs of his arms.

Theſe multiplied advantages were not allowed to languiſh in the hands of Onomarchus, who hoped to eclipſe the unjuſt motives of his enterpriſe by the ſudden ſplendour of victory. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he poured down on Locris and Doris, ravaged the country, took Thronium by ſtorm, laid ſeveral cities under contribution, pierced into Bœotia, and made himſelf maſter of Orchomenus. The Thebans aſſembled their forces to ſtem the torrent. Onomarchus firſt met with a repulſe before the walls of Chæronæa, and ventured not to renew the engagement, having weakened his forces by placing garriſons in the important places which he had taken, as well as by ſending a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, under his brother Phayllus, into Theſſaly[21].

He encounters Philip in Theſſaly, and obliges him to retire.

In that country, the intrigues of Philip had counteracted the gold of Onomarchus. But Lycophron, who was the chief partiſan of the latter, and whom Philip had formerly diveſted of his authority, had again eſtabliſhed himſelf in Pheræ. Pegaſæ, Magneſia, and ſeveral places of leſs note, declared for the tyrant, and for Phocis. The Macedonian intereſt prevailed elſewhere; and the factions were equally balanced, when Philip, with his uſual diligence, entered Theſſaly, defeated Phayllus, be-

[21] Diodor. p. 434.

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ſieged and took Pegaſæ, and drove the enemy with diſgrace towards the frontier of Phocis. The fear of loſing his newly-acquired intereſt among the Theſſalians, made Onomarchus evacuate Bœotia, and advance againſt Philip with his whole army. The Macedonians, though leſs numerous, did not decline the engagement. At the firſt charge the Phocians gave way, and retreated towards the neighbouring mountains. Philip ordered his men to purſue in their ranks. It was then that the Phocians really began the battle. Onomarchus, foreſeeing that the Macedonians would follow in cloſe order, had poſted a detachment on the ſummit of the precipice, who were ready, on a given ſignal, to roll down fragments of rock, and ſtones of an enormous ſize, on the embattled phalanx. This was the only mode of attack for which the Macedonians were not prepared. The line of march, in which the moment before they proceeded with ſuch firmneſs and confidence, was converted into a dreadful ſcene of carnage and ruin. Before they recovered from their conſternation, the flying Phocians, who had decoyed them into this ambuſh, returned to the charge. Philip, however, rallied his men; and while Onomarchus heſitated to advance, drew them off in good order, ſaying, that they did not retreat through fear, but retired like rams, in order to ſtrike with the more impetuous vigour[22].

Onomarchus defeated and ſlain.

This ſaying was finally juſtified, although the Phocians and Lycophron firſt enjoyed a ſhort triumph.

[22] Polyxen. Stratag. l. ii. c. xxviii. Diodor. l. xvi. 34, & ſeqq.

umph. The tyrant eſtabliſhed himſelf, as he thought, ſecurely, in his native city; the Phocians, reinforced by their Theſſalian allies, again invaded Bœotia, aſſaulted and took Coronæa, and dreadfully alarmed the Thebans, by the devaſtations committed in the very centre of their territory. But the time of vengeance arrived. Philip having recruited his army, returned into Theſſaly. The unſteady partiſans of Lycophron, had they determined to ſhare his danger, would have proved unable to ſupport his cauſe. A conſiderable portion of the Theſſalians received the king of Macedon as their deliverer. Onomarchus was thus obliged to withdraw his forces from Bœotia. At the head of twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, he marched to the defence of Lycophron, and was met by the enemy, ſtill more numerous, on the level coaſt of Magneſia. To remind his ſoldiers that they fought in the cauſe of Delphi and of Heaven, Philip crowned their heads with the laurel conſecrated to Apollo, and adorned his enſigns and ſtandards with the emblems and attributes of that divinity[23]. Their onſet was impetuous and fierce, and their valour, animated by enthuſiaſm, rendered them irreſiſtible, though the enemy, conſcious of guilt, fought with the fury of deſpair. Three thouſand Theſſalian cavalry, who had ſignally contributed to the victory of Philip, rendered the purſuit bloody and deſtructive; while the Phocians, having thrown away their armour, fled towards the ſea, allured

[23] Juſtin. l. viii. 2.

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by the ſight of the Athenian fleet under Chares, which was returning from the Cherſoneſus. That commander ſeems not to have made any attempt to protect them. Above ſix thouſand periſhed in the battle, or in the purſuit. The body of Onomarchus was found among the ſlain; Philip ordered it to be hung on a gibbet, as a mark of peculiar infamy; the reſt were thrown into the ſea, as unworthy, by their impious ſacrilege, of the rites of funeral. Three thouſand were taken alive; but it is not abſolutely certain whether they were drowned, or reduced into captivity; though the latter opinion is the more probable [24].

Philip's deſigns againſt Olynthus and Byzantium.

It might be expected that ſuch a deciſive blow ſhould have proved fatal to the Phocians. But Philip, who had conquered them in Theſſaly, durſt not purſue his advantages by invading Phocis;

24 The leaving ſuch a circumſtance at all doubtful, is very diſhonourable to the accuracy of the compiler Diodorus. His words are, τελος δε, των Φωκεων και μισθοφορων ανηρεθησαν μεν υπερ τους εξακισχιλιους, εν οις ην και αυτος ο στρατηγος· ηλωσαν δε ουκ ελαττους των τρισχιλεων. ο δε Φιλιππος τον μεν Ονομαρχον εκρεμασεν, τους δε αλλους ως ιεροσυλους κατεποντισε. Literally, "At length above ſix thouſand of the Phocians and mercenaries were, on the one hand, taken up *dead*, among whom was the general. Not leſs than three thouſand were, on the other hand, taken priſoners. Philip hung up Onomarchus, and threw the reſt into the ſea, as guilty of ſacrilege." The learned reader will perceive, that I have given the full force of the word ανηρεθησαν: and from the preciſe and diſtinctive force of the particles μεν and δε, which ſeparate the two firſt clauſes of the text, I am of opinion that the τους αλλους can apply only to the reſt of thoſe who were taken up dead. There is nothing determinate to be learned from the word κατεποντισε, which ſignifies barely to plunge into the ſea.

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well knowing, that an attempt to paſs the ſtraits of Thermopylæ would alarm not only his enemies but his allies. It was his intereſt to perpetuate diſſenſions in Greece. For that reaſon he fomented the diſcord that reigned among the ſtates of Peloponneſus; and though he had puniſhed the obnoxious Phocians, he was unwilling to terminate a war which diverted the public attention from watching too ſtudiouſly his own ambitious deſigns. His victory over an odious enemy extended his juſt renown. He ſecured the dominion of Theſſaly, by planting garriſons in Pheræ, Pegaſæ, and Magneſia. His army was ready to march towards Greece on the firſt favourable opportunity; but till that ſhould arrive, he rejoiced to ſee both diviſions of that country involved in war, which allowed him to accompliſh, unmoleſted, the ſubordinate purpoſes of his reign. He had long deceived the Olynthians by good offices and promiſes, but now began to throw off the maſk, and to ſhow that he meant to be their maſter. He actually applied to Kerſobleptes, whom he detached from the intereſt of Athens; and having raiſed him on the ruins of the neighbouring chieftains of Thrace, thereby obtained his confidence, and waited an occaſion to deſtroy him with ſecurity [25]. The dominions of that prince opened the way to Byzantium, the poſſeſſion of which muſt have early tempted the ambition of Philip, who knew ſo well to eſtimate the importance of its ſituation both in com-

[25] Juſtin. l. viii. 3. Demoſt. Olynth. 1 & 3.

merce

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merce and in war. He began to diſcover his deſigns againſt Byzantium by attacking the fortreſs of Heræum, a place ſo called from the neighbouring temple of Juno, which formed its principal ornament. The town of Heræum was ſmall, and in itſelf unimportant; its harbour was dangerous and deceitful; but being ſituate contiguous to Byzantium, it ſerved as an outwork and defence to that rich and populous city [26].

His meaſures counteracted by the Athenians.

The Athenians had ſufficient penetration to diſcern the drift of thoſe enterpriſes. They formed an alliance with the republic of Olynthus; they warned Kerſobleptes of his danger; they voted a numerous fleet to ſail to the defence of Heræum, or rather of Byzantium, with which, though rendered independent of Athens by the ſocial war, they ſtill carried on a lucrative commerce. But theſe ſpirited exertions were not of long continuance. Philip's wound at Methoné, together with the continual labour and fatigue to which he had afterwards ſubmitted, threw him into a dangerous malady. The report of his ſickneſs was, before it reached Athens, magnified into his death. The Athenians rejoiced in ſo ſeaſonable a deliverance, and laying aſide their naval preparations, bent their principal attention to the ſacred war [27].

The Phocian, or ſacred war, continued by Phayllus.

That unhappy conteſt was renewed by Phayllus, the laſt ſurviving brother of Philomelus and Onomarchus. As his cauſe became more deſperate, Phayllus availed himſelf to the utmoſt of the only

[26] Juſtin. l. viii. 3. Demoſth. Olynth. 2 & 3. [27] Idem, ubi ſupra.

reſource

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reſource which was left him. Having converted into ready money the moſt precious dedications of Delphi, he doubled the pay of his mercenaries. This extraordinary encouragement brought new adventurers to his ſtandard, and ſoon rendered his army equal to that of either of his predeceſſors. The fugitive Theſſalians, aſſembled in a body by Lycophron, entered into his pay. By means of the Delphic treaſure, he acquired, likewiſe, the public aſſiſtance of a thouſand Lacedæmonians, two thouſand Achæans, five thouſand Athenian foot, with four hundred cavalry. Theſe powerful reinforcements enabled the Phocians to take the field with a good proſpect of ſucceſs, and rendered thoſe who had ſo lately been the objects of pity, again formidable to their enemies[28].

Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 352.

Philip, meanwhile, had recovered from his indiſpoſition. The votes and preparations of the Athenians had taught him that his deſigns could no longer be concealed. He was acquainted with the alliance formed between that republic and Olynthus. His emiſſaries gave him intelligence of the actual commotions in Greece, where the countenance and aſſiſtance of ſo many powerful ſtates abetted the ſacrilege of the Phocians. The occaſion required that he ſhould appear in favour of his allies, and in defence of the pious cauſe which he had formerly maintained with ſo much glory. His trophies gained over Onomarchus were ſtill freſh and blooming; and not only the Thebans,

Philip, in order to oppoſe him, marches towards Thermopylæ.

[28] Diodor. p. 436.

Dorians,

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Dorians, and Locrians, who were principals in the war, but the ſincere votaries of Apollo in every quarter of Greece, ſecretly expected him as their deliverer: while his enemies admired his piety and trembled at his valour; and as they had been lately amuſed with the news of his ſickneſs and death, they would now view with religious terror his unexpected appearance at Thermopylæ, to aſſert the violated rights of the Delphian temple. Such were the hopes and motives on which Philip, at the head of a numerous army, directed his march[29] towards thoſe celebrated ſtraits, which we have formerly deſcribed, and ſo often mentioned.

This meaſure alarms the Athenians;

But the event ſhewed, that on this occaſion he had made a falſe eſtimate of the ſuperſtition or timidity of the Greeks, and particularly had built too much on the patience and indolence of the Athenians. That people penetrated his deſigns, and determined to oppoſe them. Under the veil of religious zeal, they doubted not that he concealed the deſire to invade and conquer their country; and, on the firſt intelligence of his expedition, their foreſight and patriotiſm repreſented the Macedonians, Theſſalians, and Thebans, pouring down like a deſtructive inundation, on Attica and Peloponneſus. With an alacrity and ardour, of which there was no recent example in their councils, they flew to arms, launched their fleet, ſailed to Thermopylæ, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtraits[30].

who ſail to Thermopylæ, and guard the ſtraits.

[29] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 437.
[30] Demoſthen. de Falſa Legat. ſect. 29.

Never

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Never did Philip meet with a more cruel diſappointment, than in being thus anticipated by a people whom he had ſo often deceived. He retired with deep regret, leaving the Phocian war to be carried on by the Thebans and their allies. Meanwhile, the Athenians placed a guard at Thermopylæ; and, elated by the firſt inſtance of their ſucceſs againſt the Macedonian, called an aſſembly to deliberate on meaſures proper to reſtrain his ambition.

Philip retires in diſappointment.

This aſſembly is rendered memorable by the firſt appearance of Demoſthenes againſt Philip, whoſe meaſures from this moment he ceaſed not to watch and to counteract. Two years before, this illuſtrious orator, whoſe works have been more praiſed than read, and more read than underſtood, began, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, to appear on the theatre of public life. The Athenians were then involved in the ſacred war; their northern poſſeſſions were continually inſulted, plundered, or conquered by Philip; yet in this ſituation of affairs, the mercenary partiſans of that prince, in order to divert the public attention from his too aſpiring deſigns, affected to extend their views to Aſia, and to be alarmed by the motions of Artaxerxes Ochus, who was preparing to reduce the rebels of Cyprus, Egypt, and Phœnicia. In every aſſembly of the people, the creatures of Philip dwelt, with exaggerated terror, on the naval and military preparations of the great king, which they repreſented as certainly deſtined to revenge the recent injuries committed by the Athenian troops, under Chares, on the coaſt of Aſia. The trophies

Demoſthenes's firſt appearance againſt Philip.

of

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of Miltiades, Themiſtocles, and Cimon, were adorned with all the pomp of eloquence; and the Athenians were exhorted to imitate thoſe memorable exploits of their anceſtors in the Perſian war, which ſhed a luſtre on all the ſucceeding periods of their hiſtory.

Sentiments of the wiſeſt Athenians reſpecting this prince.

In this popular enthuſiaſm joined Iſocrates, the orator, together with the ſtateſman and general Phocion, two men whoſe talents and virtues would have done honour to the moſt illuſtrious age of the republic. The unblemiſhed integrity of Iſocrates, the diſintereſted poverty of Phocion, afford ſufficient proof that neither of theſe great men were corrupted by Macedonian gold. But they both perceived that the indolence and unſteadineſs of Athens were incapable to contend with the unceaſing activity of Philip, and both exhorted their countrymen to gain and cultivate the friendſhip of a prince, againſt whom they could not make war with any reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs.

Thoſe of Iſocrates in particular.

Iſocrates, from the moſt accurate and extenſive ſurvey of the political hiſtory of Greece, diſcovered that a foreign war alone could heal the domeſtic diſſenſions which reigned in every quarter of that divided country; and from a thorough knowledge of the inherent defects in the government of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, he regarded Macedon as the ſtate, and Philip as the general, beſt entitled, and beſt qualified, to aſſume the command of a military expedition into Aſia, to revenge ancient wrongs, and to deliver the Grecian colonies from the actual oppreſſion of Barbarians.

On

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On this important ſubject he addreſſed a diſcourſe to Philip; he repeatedly inſiſted on the ſame topic with the Athenians; and it is obſcurely related, that on one occaſion he reconciled thoſe hoſtile powers, and engaged them to concur in this extenſive yet rational ſcheme of conqueſt.

The peculiar views of Demoſthenes

The ſentiments and views of Demoſthenes were equally different from thoſe of Iſocrates and Phocion on the one hand, and from thoſe of the infamous hirelings of Philip on the other. None knew better than he did the corruption and degeneracy of his countrymen; but he hoped to rouſe them from their lethargy; a deſign, arduous as it may ſeem, ſometimes effected by his eloquence, the moſt powerful, glowing, and ſublime, ever employed by man; and which, of all men, he had been at moſt pains to acquire and cultivate[32]. His imagination was filled with the ancient glory of the republic; in the ardour of patriotiſm he forgot the moderation of philoſophy; and while he ſternly maintained the prerogatives and pretenſions of his country, he would rather have ſeen Athens defeated at the head of her allies, than victorious under the ſtandard of the Macedonians, or any ſtandard but her own. With ſuch ſentiments and character, he was naturally a favourite of the people, and a warm partiſan of popular government; while Phocion, like moſt men of ſenſe and worth in that age, preferred a moderate ariſto-

[31] See the life of Iſocrates, prefixed to my tranſlation of his works.

[32] Dionyſ. Halicarn. & Plut. de Demoſt.

cracy;

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cracy; and Iſocrates was inclined to regard a well-regulated monarchy as the beſt of all governments[33].

appear in public orations.

In his firſt ſpeeches before the aſſembly, Demoſthenes announced himſelf as the friend of the people at large, whom he exhorted to riſe from their indolence, and at length to aſſume the direction of their own affairs. They had been too long governed by the incapacity of a few ambitious men, to the great detriment and diſgrace of the community. Firſt an orator at the head of all, under him a general, abetted by a faction of three or four hundred, availed themſelves of the ſloth and negligence of a people careleſs of every thing but pleaſure, to domineer in the public councils, and to become maſters of the ſtate. From conſiderations of their preſent corruption and weakneſs, as well as of the deſigns and commotions of neighbouring powers, he adviſed them to forſake all diſtant and romantic ſchemes of ambition; and, inſtead of carrying their arms into remote countries, to prepare for repelling the attacks that might be made againſt their own dominions. He inſiſted earneſtly on a better regulation of their finances, on the retrenching of many ſuperfluous branches of expence, and eſpecially on a more equitable repartition of public burdens, in proportion to the fortunes of individuals; which, though the income of the ſtate had dwindled to four hundred talents, were actually more conſiderable than at any former period. While the rich cheerfully paid

[33] See his Nicocles, Evagoras, &c.

their

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their contributions, the poor muſt be willing to forego the burdenſome gratuities which they derived from the treaſury; and all muſt be ready to take the field in perſon, that the public ſervice might be no longer betrayed, or diſgraced, by ſtrangers and mercenaries [34].

His firſt Philippic.

Subſequent events juſtified the opinions, and enforced the counſels of Demoſthenes. The Athenians were delivered from their ill-grounded fears of Artaxerxes Ochus, when they beheld the preparations of that monarch directed againſt his rebellious ſubjects. The encroachments of Philip became continually more daring and more formidable; and his recent attempts to ſeize the ſtraits of Thermopylæ ſhewed the neceſſity of oppoſing him with re-united vigilance and vigour.

In this juncture, ſo favourable to awakening the activity of Athens, Demoſthenes mounted the roſtrum [35] before any other orator, apologiſing for this forwardneſs in a man not yet thirty years of age, by obſerving, "That already the uſual ſpeakers had given their opinions on the ſubject of Philip; and that, had *their* advices been uſeful and practicable, they muſt have precluded the neceſſity of any farther deliberation. Firſt of all, Athenians! you ought not to deſpair; no! not although your affairs ſeem indeed involved in equal confuſion and danger. For the ſame circumſtance which is

34 Vid. Oration. de Claſſibus, & de Ordinand. Republic.

35 I have uſed that word, becauſe adopted in our language to expreſs the Βημα, pulpit or gallery appropriated to the ſpeakers in the Athenian aſſembly.

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the cauſe of your paſt misfortunes, ought to furniſh the ſource of your preſent hope. What is that? Your own negligence and ſloth, not the [illegible] your enemies, have diſordered the ſtate. Had your diſtreſs ariſen, notwithſtanding your utmoſt [illegible] to prevent it, there would then be little hope [illegible] relief. But ſince it is occaſioned by your own miſconduct, you need only repair your errors, in order to retrieve your affairs. Conſidering the weakneſs of Athens, thus deſpoiled of her dominions, and the ſtrength of Philip, which has increaſed immoderately at our expence, ſhould you think him a formidable enemy, you doubtleſs think aright. Yet reflect, Athenians! that there was a time when we poſſeſſed Pydna, Potidæa, Methoné, and all the ſurrounding territory; that the nations in that neighbourhood, now ſubject to Philip, were then independent, and preferred the alliance of Athens to that of Macedon. In the infancy of his fortune, had Philip reaſoned timidly, as we do now, 'How ſhall I, deſtitute of allies, attack the Athenians, whoſe garriſons command my frontier?' he would not have engaged in thoſe enterpriſes which have been crowned with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs, nor raiſed his kingdom to ſuch an unexampled pitch of grandeur. No, Athenians! he knew well, that towns and fortreſſes are but prizes of ſkill and valour[36]

[36] Αλλ' οιδεν, ω ανδρες Αθηναιοι, τουτο καλως εκεινος, ὁτι ταυτα μεν εστι απαντα τα χωρια αὐλα τω πολεμω κειμενα εν μεσω. In ancient times the figure had more force as well as dignity; becauſe at the Olympic and other ſacred games, the ſpectators were uſed to behold the prizes propoſed to the victors, κειμενα εν μεσω, expoſed in the middle of the field, to excite their emulation and ardour. See vol. i. c. v.

propoſed

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[redacted]poſed to the combatants, and belong of right to conqueror; that the dominions of the abſent ſeized by thoſe who take the field, and the ſions of the negligent and ſlothful by the vi- and intrepid. Guided by theſe principles, ſubdued, and governs all; holding ſome by right of conqueſt, and others under f allies; for allies no prince nor ſtate can want, o are not wanting to themſelves. But ſhould y , Athenians! imitate the example of Philip, and at length, rouſing from your lethargy, apply ſeriou to your intereſt, you would ſpeedily recover thoſ advantages which your negligence only has loſt. Favourable occaſions will yet occur; for you muſt not imagine that Philip, like a god, enjoys his proſperity for ever fixed and immutable [37]. No, Athenians! there are who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among thoſe ſeemingly the moſt devoted to his cauſe. Theſe are univerſal paſſions, from which the allies of Macedon are not, ſurely, exempted. They have hitherto concealed them, finding no reſource in you; but it depends on your councils to call them into action. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? when rouſed by ſome event—when urged by ſome neceſſity—What can be more urgent than the preſent juncture? To freemen, the moſt neceſſary of all mo-

37 The original is inimitable: μη γαρ ὡς θεῳ νομιζετ' ἐκεινῳ τα παροντα πεπηγεναι πραγματα αἰδιατα. Join the τα and the πραγματα, the article and the ſubſtantive, and the charm will be diſſolved.

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tives is the ſhame of miſconduct. Or ſay, wi[ll] ſtill be your ſole buſineſs to ſaunter in the pu[blic] place, enquiring after news? [What] new, than that a Macedonian [is] Athens, and enſlave Greece? Is P[hilip] but in great danger. How are you [to] theſe rumours? What matters it to yo[u] he is ſick or dead, ſince, if you thus ma[nage] affairs, your folly will ſoon rai[se] lip[38]?"

Meaſures propoſed by Demoſthenes for reſiſting Philip.

After this animated remonſtrance, Demoſthenes propoſes a plan of operations calculated chiefly for defence. The Athenians, he obſerves, were not yet prepared to meet Philip in the field. They muſt begin by protecting Olynthus, and the Cherſoneſus, from his incurſions. For this purpoſe, it was neceſſary to raiſe a body of two thouſand men light-armed, and an adequate proportion of cavalry, which were to be tranſported under a proper convoy (as Philip had his fleet) with all expedition to the iſles of Lemnos, Thaſos, and Sciathos, contiguous to the coaſt of Macedon. Conveniently poſted in thoſe iſlands, where they would enjoy neceſſaries in abundance, the Athenian troops might avail themſelves of every favourable incident, to appear at the firſt ſummons of their allies, and either to repel the inroads of the Macedonians, or

[38] The ſenſe indeed of that period, but neither its force nor its harmony, can be tranſlated. Τεθνηκε φιλιππος; ω μα δια! αλλ' ασθενει· τι δε υμιν διαφερει; και γαρ αν ουτος τι παθη, ταχεως υμεις ετερον Φιλιππον ποιησετε, αν περ ουτω προσεχητε τοις πραγμασι τον νουν· ουδε γαρ ουτος παρα την εαυτου ρωμην τοσουτον επηυξηται, οσον παρα την υμετεραν αμελειαν.

to

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to harass the extended, and, in many parts, defenceless territory of that people. Meanwhile, preparations would be made at home for carrying on the war in due time, with more numerous forces, and with greater vigour. Such moderate propositions prove that Demosthenes well understood the [illegible] of his countrymen. He required that only a fourth part of the troops should consist of Athenian citizens, and the immediate supplies were only to amount to ninety talents. He knew that higher demands would alarm their indolence and love of pleasure; and so fatally were they sunk in the dissipated amusements of the city, that it is probable the small armament proposed did not actually set sail; it is certain that no future preparations were made adequate to the public service.

Philip affects to lay aside his ambition.

The profound policy of Philip fostered the supine negligence of his enemies. For more than two years after his retreat from Thermopylæ, that crafty prince much confined himself to his dominions, and chiefly to his capital, anxious to dissipate the clamour occasioned by his too great precipitation to seize the gates of Greece. In that interval he indeed made an expedition to chastise the rebellious spirit of the Thessalians. But the greatest part of his time was spent at Pella, and addicted to the arts of peace, which he judged with skill, and encouraged with munificence. That favourite city was adorned with temples, theatres, and porticoes. The most ingenious artists of Greece were summoned, by liberal rewards, to the court

His occupation during a long residence at Pella. A. C. 350, & 349.

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of Macedon[39]; and men of talents and genius, who were too often expoſed to envy and perſecution in the former country, were received with open arms by a prince, who, amidſt the ſtorms of war, aſſiduouſly cultivated the ſtudies of literature and eloquence. In his domeſtic government, Philip adminiſtered juſtice with impartiality, liſtened with condeſcenſion to the complaints of his meaneſt ſubjects, and diſdaining the ceremonious and forbidding pomp of tyranny, maintained an intercourſe of viſits and entertainments with his courtiers and generals[41].

His vices;

In a prince ſo reſpectably employed, it is difficult to conceive the odious and deteſtable vices with which Philip is upbraided by Demoſthenes[42]; yet the brief deſcriptions occaſionally ſketched by the orator are filled up by an ancient hiſtorian, who repreſents the infamies of the life of Philip in language well fitted to arraign the horrors of Nero or Heliogabalus. Could we believe the acrimony of Theopompus, a writer who flouriſhed in the age of Alexander, by whom he was rewarded and honoured, not perhaps the leſs willingly becauſe he had expoſed or exaggerated the vices of his father, Philip ſullied his great actions by the moſt enormous and deteſtable crimes. Alike avaricious and prodigal, the wealth which he had amaſſed by

39 Juſtin. l. viii. c. 3.

40 Among other Greeks who lived at Philip's court were, Leoſthenes the orator, Neoptolemus the poet, Ariſtodemus and Satyrus, celebrated players. Æſchin. & Demoſthen. paſſim.

41 Plut. in Apophth. & in Demoſthen. & Alexand.

42 Vid. Demoſthen. ex edit. Wolf. pp. 5. 8. 48. 66, &c.

injuſtice

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injuſtice and rapacity, he diſſipated in the moſt flagitious gratifications, and in company with the meaneſt and moſt worthleſs of mankind. His companions were choſen promiſcuouſly from Macedonians and Greeks, and eſpecially from Theſſalians, the moſt profligate of the Greeks, and were admitted to his familiarity and friendſhip in proportion to their proficiency in the moſt odious and unnatural abominations[43] that ever polluted the worſt men in the moſt corrupt ages of the world. We muſt, doubtleſs, make allowances for the gall

[43] The epithets given them by Theopompus are, Βδέλυροι, *abominabiles*; and Λαγαυροι; the laſt word is compounded of λα, *valde*, and ταυρο, *taurus*; and tranſlated *inſegnitur mentulatus*, which correſponds to the *enormitas membrorum* of the Auguſtan hiſtorians. The following deſcription of the friends of Philip is too indecent for modern language: "Horum enim quidam jam viri barbam identidem radebant & vellebantur: alii vero barbati citra pudorem viciſſim ſe impudicabant, ſtupris intercutibus ſe flagitantes; regi vero duo vel tres circumducebantur qui paterentur muliebria, & eandem operam navarent alios ſubagitantes. Quamobrem illos jure aliquis non amicos regis, ſed amicas eſſe credidiſſet, nec milites ſed proſtibula nuncupaſſet, ingenio quidem & natura ſanguinarios, moribus autem virilia ſcorta, &c." This paſſage is quoted from the forty-ninth book of Theopompus. In his twenty ſixth book he ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe: "Philippum cum Theſſalos intemperantes eſſe, ac laſcivæ petulantiſque vitæ proſpiceret, eorum conventus ac contubernia inſtituiſſe; iiſque uti placeret modis omnibus fuiſſe conatum, cum illis ſaltâſſe, commiſſatum fuiſſe, cuivis libidini ſe ac nequitiæ tradidiſſe." A miſtaken paſſage of Diodorus has made ſome learned men doubt the authenticity of theſe deſcriptions. Diodorus (l. xvi. ſect. 3.) ſays, that Theopompus γεγραφεναι οκτω βιβλους, προς τοις πεντηκοντα εξ ων πεντε διαφωνουσι; "had written the hiſtory of Philip in fifty-eight books, five of which differ in ſtyle from the reſt." Were we therefore to ſuppoſe the five laſt books ſpurious (for that is the inference which has been drawn), the obſervation of Diodorus would not at all effect the paſſages above cited.

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of a writer, noted to a proverb for ſeverity. Yet there is ſufficient collateral evidence, that Philip's ſtrong propenſity to low wit, obſcenity, and drunkenneſs, rendered him a prey to buffoons, and paraſites, and flatterers, and all the worthleſs refuſe of intemperance and folly. Theſe diſgraceful aſſociates of the prince, formed, in time of war, a regiment apart, of about eight hundred men, whoſe gradual waſte was continually recruited by new members, who either were, or ſoon became, worthy of the old; for, as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate, the whole band were alike cowardly and profligate.

and policy.

But in whatever manner Philip employed his private hours, he at no time loſt ſight of thoſe great principles of policy which regulated his public adminiſtration. Under pretence of wanting money to ſupply the expence of his buildings, and other public works, he employed an expedient which is well known in latter times, and which has been carried to ſuch exceſs as threatens the ſafety of thoſe governments which it was intended to uphold. The letting looſe of the Delphic treaſures had diffuſed near a million ſterling over Greece[44]. The unſettled ſtate of that country

[44] The ſacred war laſted ten years, and coſt the Phocians ten thouſand talents, near two millions; it had already laſted five years, and may be ſuppoſed to have coſt near the half of that ſum. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 453. He ſays, that the gold and ſilver dedications (which were coined into money) ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ μύρια τάλαντα, "exceeded ten thouſand talents;" a prodigious ſum (conſidering the relative value of money in thoſe days), of which the ſudden diffuſion could not fail to produce moſt important conſequences.

rendered

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rendered those who had acquired wealth very uncertain of enjoying it. With the rich and avaricious Philip employed proper agents to take up[45] money at high interest, which procured him two advantages of a very important kind, the attaching to his government and person a numerous and powerful band of creditors; and the enabling him to pay, under the title of debts, and therefore without suspicion, the various pensions and gratuities by which he maintained his influence among the orators and leading men in the several republics.

45 Justin. viii. 3.

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Negligence and Licentiouſneſs of the Athenians.—Philip's Intrigues in Eubœa.—Phocian defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans.—Philip invades the Olynthian Territory.—Demoſthenes's Orations in favour of the Olynthians.—Expedition of Chares.—Philip takes Olynthus.—Celebrates the Feſtival of the Muſes at Dium.—Commits naval Depredations on Attica.—His Embaſſy to Athens.—The Athenian Embaſſy to Philip.—Character of the Ambaſſadors.—Their Conference with the King.—Differently reported to the Senate and Aſſembly.—Philip's Conqueſts in Thrace.—The Phocian War.—Negociations.—Philip's Intrigues.—Decree of the Amphictyons againſt Phocis.—Executed by Philip.—Macedon acknowledged the principal Member of the Amphictyonic Council.

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Negligence and licentiouſneſs of the Athenians. Olymp. cvii. 4. A. C. 349.

THE Athenians, deceived by the inactivity of the king of Macedon, indulged themſelves, without reſerve, in their favourite amuſements. Their confederates, the Phocians, were abandoned; the war with Philip, in which they might well have conſidered themſelves as principals, was neglected. Magiſtrates and people ſeemed ſolely attentive to regulate public feſtivals and proceſſions, and to aſcertain the reſpective merit of dramatic poets and performers. The fund originally intended for the exigencies

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exigencies of war, had already been appropriated to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a capital crime to propose alterations this unexampled and moſt whimſical deſtination. It was in vain for Demoſthenes to reſiſt the popular torrent. He was oppoſed and overcome by Eubulus and Demades, the latter of whom, with talents that might have adorned his country, condeſcended to ſell its intereſts to the public enemy.

Juſtified by Demades.

Born in the loweſt condition of life, Demades retained the vices of his birth; and always diſcovered that ſordid ſpirit, and weltered in thoſe brutal exceſſes, which betray the want of early culture. Yet the acuteneſs of his apprehenſion, the ſtrength of his reaſon and memory, and above all, the bold and copious flow of his unpremeditated eloquence, in which he was allowed to excel even Demoſthenes[1] himſelf, raiſed him to a conſpicuous rank in the aſſembly; and it being his buſineſs, as the hireling of Philip, to ſail along with the ſtream of popular frenzy, which the patriotiſm of his rival endeavoured to ſtruggle with, and to ſtem, he poſſeſſed a free and ample ſcope for exerciſing his abilities.

Philip's intrigues in Eubœa. Olymp. cvii. 4. A. C. 349.

The people of Athens triumphed in the victory of perfidious demagogues over the wiſeſt and beſt of their fellow-citizens, or rather over the laws and conſtitution of their country, when Philip began to

[1] Plutarch. in Demoſthen.

play

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play thoſe batteries which he had patiently raiſed with ſuch ſkill and ſecrecy. The iſland of Eubœa, which he called the fetters of Greece, was the firſt object of his attack. Since the expulſion of the Thebans, of which we have formerly taken notice, the Athenians had preſerved their intereſt in the iſland, where they maintained a ſmall body of troops. The different cities, however, enjoyed the independent government of their own laws; they appointed their own magiſtrates; they ſometimes made war againſt each other; and ſeparately aſſumed the prerogatives of free and ſovereign ſtates, while they all collectively acknowledged their dependence on Athens. Such political arrangements made room for the intrigues of Philip. He fomented their civil diſcord; gained partiſans in each city; and at length, under colour of protecting his allies, landed ſeveral Macedonian battalions in the iſland [z].

Danger to which the Athenian intereſt in that iſland was expoſed;

Matters were ſoon diſpoſed to his wiſh. The Macedonians were allowed to occupy the moſt advantageous poſts. The Athenian party exclaimed and threatened; but Plutarch, the leader of that party, was gained to the intereſts of Philip, and demanded auxiliaries from Athens, only to betray them into the hands of their enemies. Demoſthenes, who alone penetrated this dark ſcheme of villany, entreated and conjured his countrymen to put no confidence in Plutarch. But he was ſingle in his opinion. The confidants of Philip were

[z] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. & Demoſth. de falſa Legation. & de Pace.

true

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true to their maſter, and therefore urged the expedition. The friends of their country were eager to ſave the iſle of Eubœa, and the capricious multitude, ever in extremes, ruſhed with as much impetuoſity to an enterpriſe intended for their ruin, as they had long ſhewn backwardneſs to engage in every other[3]. The promptitude and vigour of their preparations much exceeded the expectation, and even alarmed the fears, of the Macedonian faction. But the latter had gone too far to retreat; nor could they foreſee the conſequences that happened, ſo contrary to their hopes. The Athenians, in fact, obtained a deciſive victory, not by the ſtrength of their arms, which was inferior to the enemy's, but by the wiſe choice of a general.

from which they are extricated by Phocion.

The conſummate prudence of Phocion, who, on his arrival in Eubœa, found things in a worſe ſtate than had been repreſented, riſked no chance of defeat, and loſt no opportunity of advantage[4]. Having choſen a favourable poſt, which was on all ſides ſurrounded by broken and uneven ground, he deſpiſed the clamours of his men and the inſults of the enemy. The treacherous Plutarch was quickly defeated in a mock battle, in which he fell back on the Athenian cavalry, who fled in diſorder to the camp of Phocion. The Eubœans and Macedonians purſued with a raſh and intemperate ardour; and, elated with victory, and confident in their ſuperior numbers, prepared to aſſail the camp. The general, meanwhile, performed a ſacrifice, which he ſtudiouſly prolonged, either from

3 Demoſth. de Pace. 4 Plutarch. in Phocion.

religion

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He defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans.

religion or policy, until he beheld the diſorder of the aſſailants embarraſſed by the unequal ground, and by their own raſhneſs. He then commanded his men to ſtand to their arms, and ſallying from his entrenchments with intrepid valour, increaſed the confuſion of the enemy, who were repelled with great ſlaughter towards the plain which they had at firſt occupied. The activity of Cleophides, who had rallied and formed the Athenian cavalry, rendered the victory complete. The remains of the vanquiſhed took refuge in the fortreſs of Zeratra, in the northern corner of the iſland, which, being attacked, made a feeble reſiſtance [5]. The garriſon ſurrendered; but Phocion reſtored all the Eubœans to liberty, leſt the people of Athens, inflamed by their popular leaders, might treat them with that cruelty, which, on a ſimilar occaſion, they had inflicted on the rebellious citizens of Mitylené [6]. Having ſpent a few weeks in ſettling the affairs of the iſland, he returned in triumph to Athens, his ſhips drawn up in line of battle, their ſtems crowned with garlands, and the rowers keeping time to the ſound of martial muſic. His fellow-citizens received him with acclamations of joy; but their imprudence did not allow them to reap the fruits of his ſucceſs. Moloſſus, an obſcure ſtranger, was appointed, by cabal, to command the troops left in the iſland; and Philip, having renewed his intrigues, carried them on with the ſame dexterity, and met with better ſucceſs [7].

5 Plut. in Phocion. 6 See above, vol. ii. c. xvi. pp. 243 & ſeqq.
7 Plut in Phocion.

It

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It is worthy of attention, that Demoſthenes followed the ſtandard of Phocion to Eubœa, though he had ſtrongly diſapproved the expedition. Both he and his rival Æſchines, of whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak more fully, ſerved in the cavalry. Demoſthenes was reproached with being the firſt who deſerted his rank, and among the laſt who returned to the charge. Æſchines behaved with diſtinguiſhed gallantry, and had the honour of being appointed by Phocion to carry home the firſt intelligence of the victory[8].

Oppoſite behaviour of Demoſthenes and Æſchines in the battle.

Philip's diſappointment in Eubœa only ſtimulated his activity. His toils were ſpread ſo widely all around him, that when one part failed he could catch his prey in another. The Olynthians, againſt whom he ſeemed to have long forgotten his reſentment, were aſtoniſhed to obſerve that ſeveral of their citizens grew rich and great in a manner equally ſudden and unaccountable; and that they enlarged their poſſeſſions, built ſtately palaces, and diſplayed a degree of magnificence and grandeur hitherto unknown in their frugal republic. The unexpected invaſion of Philip revealed the myſtery. A conſiderable party had grown wealthy by betraying the ſecrets, expoſing the weakneſs, and foſtering the ill-timed ſecurity of their country[9]. Their influence at home had recommended them to Philip, and the wages of their iniquity had increaſed that influence. It would not probably have been difficult to prove their treaſon, but it ſeemed dangerous to puniſh it; and the Olynthians

Philip invades the territory of Olynthus. Olymp. cvii. 4. A. C. 349.

[8] Æſchin. de falſa Legatione, & Demoſt. in Midiam.
[9] Demoſthen. Olynth. paſſim.

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The Olynthians implore the aid of Athens.

were more immediately concerned to repel the open ravagers of their territory. In this emergency they truſted not to their domeſtic forces of ten thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe[10], but ſent an embaſſy to Athens, inveighing in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt Philip, who had firſt courted, then deceived, and at laſt invaded and attacked them; and craving aſſiſtance from the Athenians, in conſequence of the alliance formerly concluded between the two republics, to defeat the deſigns of a tyrant equally daring and perfidious.

State of parties in Athens.

Had the people of Athens heartily undertaken the cauſe of Olynthus, Philip would have been expoſed a ſecond time to the danger which he had eluded with ſo much addreſs in the beginning of his reign. Thebes was employed and exhauſted in the Phocian war; the grandeur of Sparta had decayed as much as her principles had degenerated; the inferior ſtates extended not their views of policy beyond their reſpective diſtricts. But the Athenians, recently ſucceſsful in Eubœa, and reinforced by the ſtrength and reſentment of ſuch a republic as Olynthus, might have ſtill rendered themſelves formidable to the public enemy, eſpecially as at this juncture the rebellious humours of the Theſſalians broke out afreſh, and led them capriciouſly to oppoſe, with as much eagerneſs as they had often helped to promote, the intereſt of Macedon. But to compenſate theſe unpromiſing circumſtances, Philip poſſeſſed ſtrenuous abettors of his power within the walls of Athens and Olynthus; and his garriſons actually commanded the principal poſts

[10] Demoſth. de falſa Legatione.

in

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in Theſſaly. Above all, the indolence and vices of his enemies were moſt favourable to his cauſe. The late ſucceſs in Eubœa, which ſhould have animated a brave and generous people to new exertions and dangers, only replunged the Athenians into a ſlothful ſecurity. While they enjoyed their theatrical entertainments, their ſhows and feſtivals, and all the eaſe and luxury of a city life, they were little inclined to engage in any enterpriſe that might diſturb the tranquil courſe of their pleaſures. In this diſpoſition they were encouraged by their perfidious orators, who ſtrongly exhorted them to beware of involving themſelves in the danger of Olynthus, or of provoking the reſentment of a prince whoſe power they were unable to reſiſt. The orator Demades particularly diſtinguiſhed his zeal in the Macedonian intereſt; adviſing an abſolute and total rejection of the demands of the Olynthian ambaſſadors.

First oration of Demoſthenes in favour of the Olynthians.

Demoſthenes at length aroſe, and as the deſign of calling the aſſembly had been already explained, entered immediately on the queſtion under deliberation. "On[11] many occaſions, Athenians! have the gods declared their favour to this ſtate, but never more manifeſtly than in the preſent juncture.

[11] I mean not a tranſlation of Demoſthenes. The inſerting his ſpeeches entire would deſtroy the humble uniformity of this hiſtorical work, with the deſign of which it would be inconſiſtent to tranſcribe what the orator found it neceſſary to ſay, repeat, and enforce ſo often. Beſides, Demoſthenes is one of the few Greek writers that has been tranſlated, as the late Mr. Harris ſays in his Philological Enquiries, by competent perſons: Drs. Leland and Francis, in Engliſh; Mr. Tourreil and the Abbé Auger, in French; and the Abbé Ceſarotti, in Italian.

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That enemies ſhould be raiſed to Philip, on the confines of his territory, enemies not contemptible in power, and, which is more important, ſo determined on the war, that they regard every accommodation in Macedon, firſt as inſidious, next as the deſtruction of their country, can be aſcribed to nothing leſs than the bountiful interpoſition of Heaven. With every thing elſe on our ſide, let us not be wanting to ourſelves; let us not be reproached with the unſpeakable infamy of throwing away, not only thoſe cities and territories which we inherited from our anceſtors, but thoſe occaſions and alliances offered us by fortune and the gods. To inſiſt on the power and greatneſs of Philip belongs not to the preſent ſubject. He has become great through your ſupine neglect, and the perfidy of traitors whom it becomes you to puniſh. Such topics are not honourable for you: I wave them as ſuperfluous, having matter more material to urge. To call the king of Macedon perjured and perfidious, without proving my aſſertions, would be the language of inſult and reproach. But his own actions, and not my reſentment, ſhall name him; and of theſe I think it neceſſary to ſpeak for two reaſons; firſt, that he may appear, what he really is, a wicked man; and, ſecondly, that the weak minds who are intimidated by his power and reſources, may perceive that the artifices to which he owes them are now all exhauſted, and that his ruin is at hand. As to myſelf, Athenians! I ſhould not only fear but admire Philip, had he attained his preſent height of grandeur

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deur by honourable and equitable means. But after the moſt ſerious examination I find, that at firſt he ſeduced our ſimplicity by the flattering promiſe of Amphipolis; that he next ſurpriſed the friendſhip of Clynthus by the deceitful gift of Potidæa; that, laſtly, he enſlaved the Theſſalians, under the ſpecious pretence of delivering them from tyrants. In one word, with what community hath he treated which hath not experienced his fraud? Which of his confederates hath he not ſhameleſsly betrayed? Can it be expected, then, that thoſe who promoted his elevation, becauſe they thought him *their* friend, will continue to ſupport it, when they find him a friend to his own intereſt alone? Impoſſible! When confederacies are formed on the principles of common advantage and affection, each member ſhares the toils with alacrity; all perſevere: ſuch confederacies endure. But when worthleſſneſs and lawleſs ambition have raiſed a ſingle man, the ſlighteſt accident overthrows the unſtable edifice of his grandeur. It is not, no! Athenians! it is not poſſible to found a laſting power on treachery, fraud, and perjury. Theſe may ſucceed for a while: but time reveals their weakneſs. For, as in a houſe, a ſhip, and in ſtructures of every kind, the foundation and lower parts ſhould be firm and ſolid, ſo the grounds and principles of action ſhould be juſt and true. But ſuch qualities belong not to the actions of Philip[12].

"I am

12 The important, though trite proverb, that in public, as well as in private tranſactions, "honeſty is the beſt policy," was never

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"I am of opinion, then, that fearless of consequences, you ought to assist Olynthus with the utmost celerity and vigour, and to dispatch an embassy to the Thessalians, to inflame their hostility. But take care, Athenians! that your ardour evaporate not in resolutions and decrees. Be ready to pay your contributions; prepare to take the field; show yourselves in earnest, and you will soon discover not only the hollow faith of the allies of Philip, but the internal and concealed infirmity of Macedon itself. That kingdom has emerged from obscurity amidst the contests of neighbouring states, during which the smallest weight, put into either scale, is sufficient to incline the balance. But, in itself, Macedon is inconsiderable and weak, and its real weakness is increased by the splendid but ruinous expeditions of Philip. For the king and his subjects are actuated by very different sentiments. Domineered

never expressed, perhaps with such dignity, as in the following words of Demosthenes: ὁταν μεν γαρ ὑπ' ευνοιας τα πραγματα συστη, καὶ πασι ταυτα συμφορη τοις μετεχουσι του πολεμου, καὶ συμπονειν, καὶ φερειν τας συμφορας, καὶ μενειν εθελουσι οἱ ανθρωποι· ὁταν δε εκ πλεονεξιας τις, ωσπερ οὑτος, ισχυση, ἡ πρωτη προφασις, καὶ μικρον πταισμα ἁπαντα ανεχαιτισε, καὶ διαλυσεν. ου γαρ εστι, ω ανδρες Αθηναιοι, αδικουντα καὶ επιορκουντα καὶ ψευδομενοι, δυναμιν βεβαιαν κτησασθαι· αλλα τα τοιαυτα εις μεν ἁπαξ, καὶ βραχυν χρονον, αντεχει· καὶ σφοδρα γε ηνθησεν επι ταις ελπισιν, αν τυχη· τω χρονω δε φωραται, καὶ περι αυτα καταρρει. ωσπερ γαρ οικιας, οιμαι, καὶ πλοιου, καὶ των αλλων των τοιουτων τα κατωθεν ισχυροτατα ειναι δει, οὑτω καὶ των πραξεων τας αρχας καὶ τας υποθεσεις αληθεις καὶ δικαιας ειναι προσηκει· τουτο δε ουκ ενι νυν εν τοις πεπραγμενοις φιλιππῳ· Demosthen. Olynth. i. or Olynth. ii. p. 7th, in the common but incorrect edition of Wolfius.

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by ambition, he diſregards eaſe and ſafety; but his ſubjects, who individually have little ſhare in the glory of his conqueſts, are indignant, that, for the ſake of one man, they ſhould be haraſſed by continual warfare, and withdrawn from thoſe occupations and purſuits, which afford the comforts and happineſs of private life. On the great body of his people, Philip, therefore, can have no reliance; nor, whatever may be ſaid of their valour and diſcipline, can he depend more on his mercenaries. For I am informed, by a man of undoubted veracity, who has juſt arrived from Macedon, that none of Philip's guards, even thoſe whom he treats with the affectionate, but deceitful names of companions, and fellow-ſoldiers, can merit his eſteem, without incurring his hatred and perſecution. Such is the intolerable jealouſy, ſuch the malignant envy, which crowns the other odious vices of this monſter, who, defying every ſentiment of virtue and decency, drives from his preſence all who ſhudder, all who are diſguſted, at the moſt unnatural enormities; and whoſe court is continually crowded by buffoons, paraſites, obſcene poets and drunkards; wretches who, when drunk, will dance, but ſuch dances[13] as modeſty dare not name. Slight and trivial as theſe matters may to ſome appear, they exhibit the worthleſſneſs of Philip, and announce the infelicity

[13] The κορδαλισμος. Demoſth. p. 8. Vid. Schol. ad Ariſtoph. in Nubib. From the deſcription above given of Athenian manners, it appears that Demoſthenes's delicacy was merely complimental.

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which awaits him. The dangerous defects of his character are hid in the blaze of proſperity[14]; but when misfortune happens, his native deformity will appear. For it is eaſy to prove that, as in the bodily frame, men, during the ſeaſon of health, are inſenſible of what is weak and diſordered in their conſtitutions, which imperfections are immediately felt on the firſt approach of ſickneſs; ſo the glory of foreign conqueſt conceals the vices and defects of republics and monarchies: but let calamity happen, let the war be carried to their frontiers, and thoſe hitherto latent evils immediately become manifeſt.

"If there is a man among you, Athenians! who thinks that Philip is a formidable enemy, becauſe he is fortunate, I agree with that man. Fortune[15] has a mighty influence, or rather Fortune alone domineers in human affairs. Yet could you be perſuaded to do but the ſmalleſt part of your duty, I would greatly prefer your fortune to Philip's; for *you*, ſurely, have better reaſon to truſt in the aſſiſtance of Heaven. But we remain, I think, inactive, heſitating, delaying, and deliberating, while our enemy takes the field, braving ſeaſons and dangers, and neglecting no opportunity of advantage. And if the indolent and careleſs are abandoned by their beſt friends, can we expect that the gods, however favourable, ſhould aſſiſt us, if we will not help ourſelves?"

[14] Secundæ res mirè ſunt vitiis obtentui. Salluſt.

[15] From what is ſaid below, it appears that, by Fortune, Demoſthenes here means the diſpenſations of Providence; and by good Fortune, the favour of Heaven.

The

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The extravagant expedition of Chares.

The people of Athens, animated to their duty, on the one hand, by Demoſthenes, and ſeduced, on the other, by the hirelings of Philip[16] and their own deceitful paſſions, imprudently ſteered a middle courſe, which, in public affairs, is often the moſt dangerous. Convinced that the preſervation of Olynthus was the beſt ſafeguard of Attica, yet unwilling to tear themſelves from their beloved pleaſures, they determined to ſend Chares, with a fleet and two thouſand mercenaries, to the aſſiſtance of their allies. This commander, who was the idol of the multitude, but the diſgrace of his country and of his profeſſion[17], ſhewed no ſolicitude to protect the dependencies of Olynthus, which ſucceſſively ſubmitted to the Macedonian arms. To gratify the rapacity of his troops, he made a deſcent on the fertile coaſt of Pallené, where, falling in with eight hundred men commanded by Audæus, called the friends of Philip, he obtained over thoſe contemptible cowards an eaſy and ludicrous victory, which ſerved only to amuſe the comic poets of the times. Having gained this advantage, Chares became unwilling to try his fortune in any ſeverer conflict; and diſdaining, as he affected, to follow the motions of Philip, returned home, and celebrated his triumph over the vain, boaſtful, and voluptuous Audæus[18];

16 Philochorus in Dionyſ. Epiſt. ad Ammonium.

17 Timotheus ſaid of him, "that he was fitter to carry the baggage, than to command an army." Plut. in Apophth.

18 Among his contemporaries, he was nicknamed αλεκτρυων, the cock. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

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not, however, with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, but with the ſum of ſixty talents, which he had extorted from the Phocians, who were actually in alliance with Athens [19].

Philip beſieges Olynthus.

The thoughtleſs multitude, who judged of the expedition of Chares by the expenſive pomp with which he entertained them at his return, talked extravagantly of invading Macedon, and chaſtiſing the inſolence of Philip [20], when a ſecond embaſſy arrived from Olynthus. The inhabitants of this place had been ſhut up within their walls; they had loſt Stagyra, Miciberna, Toroné, cities of conſiderable ſtrength, beſides many inferior towns, which, on the firſt appearance of Philip, were forward to receive his bribes, and to open their gates [21]; and this ſhameful venality, in places well provided for defence, made the king of Macedon obſerve to his generals, that he would thenceforth conſider no fortreſs as impregnable, which could admit a mule laden with money [22]. Dejected by continual loſſes, the Olynthians turned their thoughts to negociation, that they might at leaſt amuſe the invader till the arrival of the Athenian ſuccours. Philip penetrated their deſign, and dexterouſly turned their arts againſt them; affecting to lend an ear to their propoſals, but meanwhile continu-

19 Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534. 20 Demoſthen. Olynth. ii.

21 Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 450.

22 Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Diodorus, p. 451, relates the matter ſomewhat differently. But he acknowledges that the king of Macedon boaſted that he had augmented his dominions more by gold than by arms. Diodorus, p. 450.

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ing his approaches, till, having got within forty ſtadia of their walls, he declared that of two things one was neceſſary, either *they* muſt leave Olynthus, or *he* Macedon[23]. This explicit declaration from an enemy, who often flattered to deſtroy, but who might always be believed when he threatened, convinced the Olynthians of what they had long ſuſpected, that their utter ruin was at hand. They endeavoured to retard the fatal moment by a vigorous ſally, in which their cavalry, commanded by Apollonides, particularly ſignaliſed their valour[24]. But they were repulſed by ſuperior numbers, and obliged to take refuge in the city.

Second embaſſy to Athens.

In this poſture of affairs, the ambaſſadors ſailed for Athens; and having arrived there, found, to their utter aſtoniſhment, the multitude ſtill enjoying the imaginary triumph of Chares. This commander, who chiefly owed his credit to the aſcendant of ſuperficial qualities over the undiſcerning folly of the people, was a warm and active partiſan of democracy, and as ſuch viewed, even by Demoſthenes, with too partial eyes. The orator, beſides, well knew that the irregular, uſeleſs, or deſtructive operations of the Athenian arms, ought not always to be charged on the miſconduct of the general. The troops were always ill paid; ſometimes not paid at all; and therefore diſobedient and mutinous. Inſtead of ſubmitting to controul, they often controuled their leaders; their reſolutions were prompt and ungovernable; when they could not perſuade, they threatened; and com-

[23] Demoſthen. Philipp. iii. [24] Id. ibid.

pelled

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pelled even prudent commanders to meaſures wild, ruinous, and diſhonourable.

The demands of the Olynthians again enforced by Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes, therefore, who again undertook to ſecond the demands of Olynthus, waved all accuſation againſt particular perſons. After endeavouring to repreſs the vain confidence of his countrymen, which had been excited by the ſuppoſed advantages of Chares, and the venal breath of corrupt orators, he deſcribes the real danger of their allies, which he perſuades them to regard as their own. The criſis was now arrived; and if they neglected the preſent opportunity of fulfilling their engagements to Olynthus, they muſt ſoon be obliged to meet Philip in Attica. He reminds them of the various occaſions, which they had already loſt, of repelling this rapacious tyrant, this hoſtile Barbarian, this mixture of perfidy and violence, for whom he cannot find any name ſufficiently reproachful. "But ſome perhaps will ſay, it is the buſineſs of a public ſpeaker to adviſe, not to upbraid. We wiſh to aſſiſt the Olynthians, and we will aſſiſt them; but inform us how our aid may be rendered moſt effectual. Appoint magiſtrates, Athenians! for the inſpection of your laws; not to enact new laws; they are already too numerous; but to repeal thoſe whoſe ill effects you daily experience; I mean the laws reſpecting the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it), and ſome about the ſoldiery. By the firſt, the ſoldier's pay is conſumed, as theatrical expences, by the uſeleſs and inactive; the ſecond ſcreen from juſtice the coward who declines the ſervice, and damp the ardour of the

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the brave who would be ready to take the field. Till theſe laws be repealed, expect not that any man will urge your true intereſt, ſince his honeſt zeal muſt be repaid with deſtruction." After inſiſting ſtill farther on this delicate and dangerous ſubject, Demoſthenes probably obſerved diſpleaſure and reſentment in the countenances of his hearers, and then (as his cuſtom was) artfully turning the diſcourſe: "I ſpeak thus, not with a view to give offence, for I am not ſo mad as wantonly to offend; but becauſe I think it the duty of a public ſpeaker to prefer your intereſt to your pleaſure. Such were the maxims and conduct (you yourſelves know it) of thoſe ancient and illuſtrious orators whom all unite to praiſe, but none venture to imitate; of the virtuous Ariſtides, of Nicias, of Pericles, and of him whoſe name [25] I bear. But ſince miniſters have appeared who dare not addreſs the aſſembly, till they have firſt *conſulted* you about the *counſels* which they ought to give, who aſk, as it were, What ſhall I propoſe? What ſhall I adviſe? In what, Athenians! can I do you pleaſure? the ſweet draught of flattery has concealed a deadly poiſon; our ſtrength is enervated, our glory tarniſhed, the public beggared and diſgraced, while thoſe ſmooth-tongued declaimers have acquired opulence and ſplendour [26].

Conſider,

[25] Demoſthenes, who acted ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part in the Peloponneſian war. See above, vol. ii. c. xvii. p. 269, & ſeqq.

[26] It is worthy of obſervation, that, in this diſcourſe throughout, Demoſthenes inſiſts that the people at large enjoyed much leſs authority in his time than in the days of Ariſtides, &c. All depends,

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Conſider, Athenians! how briefly the conduct of your anceſtors may be contraſted with your own; for if you would purſue the road to glory and happineſs, you need not foreign inſtructors: it will be ſufficient to follow the example of thoſe from whom you are deſcended. The Athenians of former times, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence to which you are accuſtomed, held, with general conſent, the ſovereignty of Greece for ſixty-five years[27]; depoſited above ten thouſand talents in the citadel; kept the king of Macedon in that ſubjection which a Barbarian owes to Greece; erected many and illuſtrious trophies of the exploits which their own valour had atchieved by land and ſea; in a word, are the only people on record whoſe glorious actions tranſcend the power of envy. Thus great in war, their civil adminiſtration was not leſs admirable. The ſtately edifices which they raiſed, the temples which they adorned, the dedications which they offered to the gods, will never be excelled in magnificence; but in private life, ſo exemplary

depends, he aſſerts, on the popular orators and magiſtrates, "ὁ πολιτευόμενος." Yet it is well known that ſince the age of Ariſtides, the government had become more democratical. Demoſthenes himſelf allows this: the orators, he ſays, dare not addreſs the people now with that freedom which they uſed formerly.—This apparent contradiction ſhews the nature and tendency of that ſpecies of popular government which the Greeks called ochlogarchy.—The populace are the ſlaves of their demagogues, and the demagogues of the populace. Inſtead of liberty, there is an interchange of ſervitude.

[27] Demoſthenes's chronology here is not accurate. See above, vol. iii. p. 86. in the note.

was

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was their moderation, and ſo ſcrupulous their adherence to the frugal maxims of antiquity, that if any of you has examined the houſe of Ariſtides or Miltiades, he will find them undiſtinguiſhed above the contiguous buildings by ſuperior elegance or grandeur. The ambition of thoſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen was to exalt the republic, not to enrich themſelves[28]; and this juſt moderation, accompanied by piety and patriotiſm, raiſed their country (and no wonder!) to the height of proſperity. Such was the condition of Athens under thoſe ſincere and honeſt men. Is it the ſame, or nearly the ſame, under the indulgence of our preſent miniſters? I wave other topics on which I might enlarge. But you behold in what ſolitude we are left. The Lacedæmonians loſt; the Thebans haraſſed by war; no other republic worthy of aſpiring to the ſovereignty. Yet, at this period, when we might not only have defended our own poſſeſſions, but have become the arbiters and umpires of all around us, we have been ſtripped of whole provinces; we have expended fifteen hundred talents fruitleſsly; we have loſt, in time of peace, the alliances and advantages which the arms of our anceſtors had acquired; and we have raiſed up and armed a moſt formidable enemy againſt ourſelves. If not, let the man ſtand forth who can ſhow from what other cauſe Philip has derived his greatneſs. But the miſerable condition of our foreign affairs is, perhaps, compenſated by the happineſs of our

[28] Privatus illis cenſus erat brevis
Commune magnum. HOR. ode xv. l. ii.

domeſtic

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domeſtic ſtate, and the ſplendid improvements of our capital. Roads repaired, walls whitened, *fountains*, and *follies*[29]! And the miniſters who have procured us thoſe magnificent advantages, paſs from poverty and meanneſs to opulence and dignity; build private palaces which inſult the edifices of the public; grow greater as their country becomes leſs, and gradually riſe on its ruins. What is the ſource of this diſorder? It is, Athenians! that formerly the people did their duty, took the field in perſon, and thus kept the magiſtrates in awe."

Licentiouſneſs of the Athenian troops under the profligate Charidemus.

The aſſembly remained inſenſible to the motives of intereſt and honour. Inſtead of taking the field in perſon, they ſent to Olynthus a body of foreign infantry, amounting to four thouſand, with an hundred and fifty horſe, under the command of Charidemus. This unworthy general, who was the ſlave of his mercenaries, and of his own deteſtable paſſions, gratified the rapacity of his troops by ravaging the Macedonian province of Bottiæa, on the confines of Chalcis. At length, however, he threw his forces into Olynthus; and the beſieged, encouraged by this reinforcement, hazarded another ſally, in which they were defeated and repelled with conſiderable loſs. The Athenian mercenaries were rendered every day more contemptible by their cowardice, and more dangerous by their licentiouſneſs. The beaſtly Charidemus had

[29] Πηγαι και λημα. Demoſthenes diſdained not ſuch a gingle of words when it preſented itſelf naturally; but as it rarely occurs in his works, it is plain that he never ſought for it.

neither

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neither inclination nor ability to reſtrain their irregularities. According to his cuſtom, he drank, at every meal, to a ſcandalous exceſs: his brutality inſulted the women of Olynthus; and ſuch was his impudent and abandoned profligacy, that he demanded of the ſenate, as a reward for his pretended ſervices, a beautiful Macedonian youth, then captive in the city [30].

The cauſe of the Olynthians vigorouſly ſupported by Æſchines and Demoſthenes.

In this ſtate of affairs, the Olynthians a third time applied to Athens. On the preſent occaſion, Æſchines, who afterwards became ſuch an active partiſan of the Macedonian intereſt, particularly diſtinguiſhed his zeal and his patriotiſm. The ſpeech of Demoſthenes, to the ſame purpoſe, is ſtill on record. He exhorts and conjures his countrymen to ſend to Olynthus an army of citizens, and at the ſame time to make a diverſion, by invading the Macedonian coaſt. Unleſs both be done, the indefatigable induſtry of Philip would render either ineffectual. "Have you ever conſidered the rapid progreſs of this prince? He began by taking Amphipolis, then Pydna, Potidæa, and Methoné; from thence he poured his troops into Theſſaly, and became maſter of Pheræ, Pegaſæ, and Magneſia. Then turning towards Thrace, he over-ran provinces, conquered and divided kingdoms, and ſeated himſelf on the trophies of fallen crowns and broken ſceptres. I ſpeak not of his expedition againſt the Pæonians and Illyrians, into Epirus,—and where has not ambition conducted his arms? But why this long enumeration?

30 Theopomp. apud Athen l. x. p. 436.

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—To prove the important opportunities which your negligence has loſt, and the unextinguiſhable ardour of an adverſary, whoſe ſucceſſive conqueſts continually bring him nearer to your walls. For is there a man in this aſſembly whoſe blindneſs perceives not that the ſufferings of the Olynthians are the forerunners of our own? The preſent conjuncture calls you, as with a loud voice, at length to rouſe from your lethargy, and to profit by this laſt teſtimony of the bountiful protection of the gods. Another is not to be expected, after the many which you have deſpiſed and forgotten: I ſay *forgotten*; for favourable conjunctures, like riches, and other gifts of Heaven, are remembered with gratitude, only by thoſe who have underſtanding to preſerve and to enjoy them. The ſpendthrift diſſipates his thankfulneſs with his wealth[31]; and the ſame imprudent folly renders him both miſerable and ungrateful." After theſe bold expoſtulations, or rather reproaches, he encourages them to relieve Olynthus, by obſerving, that Philip would never have undertaken the ſiege of that place if he had expected ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance; eſpecially at a time when his allies were ready to revolt; when the Theſſalians wiſhed to throw off the yoke; when the Thracians and Illyrians longed to recover their freedom. Thus the power of Philip, lately repreſented as ſo formidable, is by no

[31] The obſervation is uncommon, but juſt: αλλα οιμαι, παροιμιον εστι, ὁπερ κ᾽ περι της των χρηματων κτησεως· αν μεν γαρ ὁσα αν τις λαβη κ᾽ σωση, μεγαλην εχει τη τυχη την χαριν· αν δε αναλωσας λαθη, συναναλωσε κ᾽ το μεμνησθαι τη τυχη την χαριν. Demoſt. Olynth. iii. Olynth. i. p. 2. ex edit. Wolf.

means

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means real and ſolid; one vigorous effort might yet overwhelm him; and the paſſion of hope, as well as that of fear, is rendered ſubſervient to the purpoſe of the orator. He again touches on the article of ſupplies; but with ſuch caution as ſhews that his former more explicit obſervations had been heard impatiently. "As to money for the expences of the war (for without money nothing can be done), you poſſeſs, Athenians! a military fund exceeding that of any other people. But you have unfortunately withdrawn it from its original deſtination, to which were it reſtored, there could not be any neceſſity for extraordinary contributions. What! do you propoſe *in form*[32], that the theatrical money ſhould be applied to the uſes of the ſoldiery? No, ſurely. But I affirm, that ſoldiers muſt be raiſed; that a fund has been allotted for their ſubſiſtence; and that in every well-regulated community, thoſe who are paid by the public, ought to ſerve the public. To profit of the preſent conjuncture, we muſt act with vigour and celerity, we muſt diſpatch ambaſſadors, to animate the neighbouring ſtates againſt Philip; we muſt take the field in perſon. If war raged on the frontiers of this country, with what rapidity would the Macedonians march hither? Why will you throw away a ſimilar opportunity? Know, that but one alternative remains, to carry the war into Macedon, or to receive it in Attica. If Olynthus reſiſts, we may ravage the territories of Philip;

[32] Such a propoſal, the Athenians had abſurdly declared puniſhable by death.

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ſhould that republic be deſtroyed, who will hinder him from coming hither? The Thebans! to ſay nothing too ſevere, they would rather reinforce his arms. The Phocians! they who, without our aſſiſtance, cannot defend themſelves. O! but he dares not come! It is madneſs to think that the deſigns of which he already boaſts with ſuch bold imprudence, he will not venture to execute, when nothing oppoſes his ſucceſs[33]. I think it unneceſſary to deſcribe the difference between attacking Philip at home, and waiting for him here. Were you obliged, only for one month, to encamp without the walls, and to ſubſiſt an army in the country, your huſbandmen would ſuſtain more loſs than has been incurred by all the former exigencies of the war. This would happen, although the enemy kept at a diſtance; but at the approach and entrance of an invader, what devaſtation muſt be produced! Add to this, the inſult and diſgrace, the moſt ruinous of all loſſes, to men capable of reflection."

Philip takes Olynthus. Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 348.

The arguments of Demoſthenes prevailed; an embaſſy was ſent into Peloponneſus, to inflame the hoſtility of that country againſt Philip; and it was determined to aſſiſt the Olynthians with an

33 With all his policy, Philip ſeems to have had the vanity of a Greek. The vigour of the original is not to be tranſlated: "Αν δε εκεινα Φιλιππος λαβῃ, τις αυτον ετι κωλυσει δουρο βαδιζειν; Θηβαιοι; μη λιαν πικρον ειπειν ῃ, ᾧ συνεβαλοντο ετοιμως. αλλα Φωκεις; οἱ την οικειαν ουχ οἱοι τε οντες φυλαττειν, εαν μη βοηθησητε ὑμεις· η αλλος τις; αλλ' ὁταν ουχι βοηθησεται—των ατοπωτατων μεντοι αν ειη, ει ἁ νυν ανοιαν οφλισκανων, ὁμως εκλαλει, ταυτα δυηθεις μη πραξει. I have uſed a little freedom with the "ουχι βοηθησεται."

army

army of Athenian citizens. But before this reſolution could be carried into effect, Olynthus was no more. The cavalry belonging to that place had acted with great ſpirit againſt the beſiegers. As the works were too extenſive to be completely inveſted, the Olynthian horſemen made frequent incurſions[34] into the ſurrounding territory, where they not only ſupplied themſelves with proviſions and forage, but beat up the quarters, attacked the advanced poſts, and intercepted the convoys of the enemy. Theſe advantages were chiefly owing to the merit of one man. In the various ſkirmiſhes, as well as in the two general engagements which had happened ſince the commencement of the ſiege, Philip perceived that Apollonides, who commanded the enemy's horſe, diſplayed ſuch valour and abilities as might long retard, perhaps altogether defeat, the ſucceſs of his undertaking. His ſecret emiſſaries were therefore ſet to work; perfidious clamours were ſown among the populace of Olynthus; Apollonides was publicly accuſed; and by the malignant practices of traitors, condemned to baniſhment on a ſuſpicion of treaſon[35]. The command of the cavalry was beſtowed on Laſthenes and Euthycrates, two wretches who had ſold their country to Philip. Having obtained ſome previous ſucceſſes, which had been concerted the better to maſk their deſigns, they advanced againſt a Macedonian poſt, carried it at the firſt onſet; purſued the flying gar-

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34 Diodorus, l. xvi. 53. 35 Demoſth. de falſa Legatione.

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riſon; and betrayed their own troops into an ambuſh prepared by the enemy. Surrounded on all ſides, the Olynthians ſurrendered their arms; and this fatal diſaſter encouraging the Macedonian partiſans within the walls, ſoon opened the gates of Olynthus[36]. The conqueror entered in triumph, plundered and demoliſhed the city, and dragged the inhabitants into ſervitude[37]. Laſthenes, Euthycrates, and their aſſociates, ſhared the ſame, or even a worſe fate. Philip is ſaid to have abandoned them to the indignant rage of the Macedonian ſoldiers, who butchered them almoſt before his eyes. It is certain, that though his mean and blind ambition often employed treachery, his juſtice or his pride always deteſted the traitor[38].

This important conqueſt inſpires Philip with the ambition to ſeize Thermopylæ

The conqueſt of Olynthus put Philip in poſſeſſion of the region of Chalcis, and the northern coaſt of the Ægean ſea; an acquiſition of territory, which rendered his dominions on that ſide round and complete. His kingdom was now bounded, on the north by the Thracian poſſeſ-

36 Demoſth. de falſa Legatione.

37 Four reaſons conſpired to produce the ſevere treatment of the Olynthians: 1. Philip had loſt a great many men in the ſiege; πολλους των στρατιωτων εν ταις τειχομαχιαις απεβαλεν. Diodor. p. 450. 2. The Olynthians had received his natural brothers, Aridæus and Menelaus, accuſed of treaſon. Juſtin. l. viii. c. iii. 3. Philip wanted money to carry on his intrigues in other cities; διαφθασας δε αυτην (ſcil. Ολυνθον) και τους ενοικουντας εξαισθαμενους, ελαφυραπωλησε· τουτο δε πραξας, χρηματων τε πολλων εις τον πολεμον ευπορησε. 4. Diodorus immediately after adds the fourth reaſon, "That he might deter the neighbouring cities from oppoſing his meaſures." Diodor. p. 450.

38 Demoſth. Olynth. iii. ſect. 3.

ſions

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and the Helleſpont.

ſions of Kerſobleptes, and on the ſouth by the territory of Phocis, a province actually comprehending the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, which had formerly belonged to a different diviſion of Greece. Beſides the general motives of intereſt, which prompted him to extend his dominions, he diſcerned the peculiar importance of acquiring the Thermopylæ and the Helleſpont, ſince the former was emphatically ſtyled the Gates of Greece, and the latter formed the only communication between that country and the fertile ſhores of the Euxine. Greece, exceeding in population the proportion of its extent and fertility, annually drew ſupplies of corn from thoſe northern regions. The Athenians, in particular, had ſettlements even in the remote peninſula of Crim Tartary, anciently called the Taurica Cherſoneſus, by means of which they purchaſed and imported the ſuperfluous productions of that remote climate[39]. Their ſhips could only ſail thither by the Helleſpont; and ſhould that important ſtrait be reduced under the power of an enemy, they muſt be totally excluded from an uſeful, and even neceſſary, branch of commerce.

Philip celebrates the feſtival of the Muſes at Dium. Olymp. cviii. 1. A.C. 348.

Philip perceived theſe conſequences. It was the general intereſt of all the Grecian republics to aſſiſt Kerſobleptes and the Phocians, which was, in other words, to defend the Helleſpont and Thermopylæ. The intereſt of the Macedonian was diametrically oppoſite; nor could he expect to

39 Demoſthen. in Leptin.

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accompliſh the great objects of his reign, unleſs he firſt rendered himſelf maſter of thoſe important poſts. This delicate ſituation furniſhed a proper exerciſe for the dexterity of Philip. After the deſtruction of Olynthus, he celebrated a public feſtival of gratitude and joy, at the neighbouring town of Dium; to which, as at the Olympian and other Grecian games, all the republics were promiſcuouſly invited, whether friends or enemies[40]. It appears that ſeveral Athenians aſſiſted at theſe magnificent entertainments, which laſted nine days, in honour of the Muſes, and which wanted no object of elegance or ſplendour, that either art could produce or wealth could purchaſe. The politeneſs and condeſcending affability of Philip obliterated the remembrance of his recent ſeverity to Olynthus; and his liberal diſtribution of the ſpoils of that unfortunate city[41] gained him new friends,

[40] Demoſth. de falſa Legatione, & Diodor. p. 451.

[41] Both Demoſthenes and Diodorus mention an anecdote which does honour to Philip, and ſtill more to Satyrus the player. After dinner, the king, according to his cuſtom, was diſtributing his preſents; amidſt the general feſtivity, Satyrus alone wore a ſad countenance. The king addreſſed him kindly, and, in the language of the times, deſired him to aſk a boon. Satyrus ſaid, that ſuch preſents as others received (cups of gold, &c.) ſeemed to him of little value: that he had indeed ſomething to aſk, but feared a denial. Philip having encouraged him, he proceeded: "Apollophanes of Pydna was my friend: at his death, his two daughters, both arrived at a marriageable age, were ſent to Olynthus, taken captive, and ſubjected to all the calamities of ſervitude. Theſe are the preſents I requeſt, not with any deſign unworthy of their father or myſelf, but that I may give them ſuch portions as ſhall enable them to marry happily. Apollophanes had been an active opponent, and even the

friends, and confirmed the attachment of his old partiſans. CHAP. XXXV.

Philip unexpectedly commits naval depredations on Attica.

Amidſt theſe ſcenes of rejoicing and feſtivity, Philip ſeems not to have forgotten, one moment, that the moſt immediate object of his policy was to detach the Athenians from the cauſe of Phocis and Kerſobleptes, who were both their allies. For this purpoſe, while he courted individuals with peculiar addreſs, he determined to make the public feel the inconvenience of the war, the better to prepare them for the inſidious propoſal of a ſeparate peace. The bad conduct of Chares left the ſea open to the Macedonians, who had ſilently acquired a conſiderable naval force. Philip begun to attack the Athenians on their favourite element. His fleet ravaged their tributary iſlands of Lemnos and Imbros; ſurpriſed and took a ſquadron of Athenian veſſels, ſtationed on the ſouthern coaſt of Eubœa; and, encouraged by theſe advantages, boldly ſailed to Attica, made a deſcent on the ſhore of Marathon, repelled the Athenian cavalry, headed by Deotimus, ravaged the territory, and carried off the Salaminian galley. From thence they proceeded to the iſle of Salamis, and defeated a conſiderable detachment commanded by Charidemus. The illuſtrious trophies of Marathon and Salamis were effaced by the inſults of the Macedonians, whoſe fleet returned home in triumph,

the perſonal enemy, of Philip; yet this prince granted the requeſt of Satyrus, and enabled him liberally to provide for the daughters of his friend.

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adorned with hoſtile ſpoils, and with military and naval glory[42].

His intrigues give him poſſeſſion of Eubœa.

The activity of Philip ſeconded his good fortune. His intrigues were renewed in Eubœa. Under pretence of delivering the iſland from the tyranny and extortions of Moloſſus, the Athenian commander, he landed ſuch a body of troops there, as proved ſufficient, with the aſſiſtance of his adherents, to expel the Athenians. Such a multiplication of calamities might have diſguſted that people with the war againſt Philip, whoſe hoſtility, directed againſt them alone, ſeemed to have forgotten the Phocians and Kerſobleptes; when ſecret but zealous partiſans of Macedon arrived at Athens, as ambaſſadors from Eubœa, commiſſioned to ſettle amicably all differences between the two countries. They obſerved, that Philip had left the iſland abſolutely free and independent; and that, though conſtrained to take arms in defence of his allies, he was ſincerely deſirous of making peace with the Athenians. The repreſentations of the Eubœan ambaſſadors were enforced by the influence of two Athenians, Ariſtodemus and Neoptolemus, the firſt diſtinguiſhed as a player, the ſecond as a player and poet, who having acquired fortunes in Macedon, returned to their own coun-

His deceitful embaſſy to Athens;

[42] In the chronology of theſe events, I have followed Dr. Leland. See his Life of Philip, vol. ii. p. 43. The events themſelves are related in the oration of Demoſthenes commonly entitled the Firſt Philippic, but which the Doctor, with great probability, conſiders as two diſtinct orations ſpoken at different times.

try,

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try, to forward the meaſures of their liberal protector. They affirmed that the king of Macedon earneſtly wiſhed to live on good terms with the republic; and the Athenians paid much regard to men, whoſe talents were then highly eſteemed, and who remitted the riches amaſſed in a foreign country, to purchaſe lands in Attica, and to ſupply with alacrity the exigencies of the public ſervice.

in vain expoſed by Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes ſaw through theſe dark and deep artifices[43]; but in vain endeavoured to alarm the unſuſpecting credulity of his countrymen. On a future occaſion, after the plot had become manifeſt, he upbraids their careleſs indifference and deluſion at this important criſis. "Had you been ſpectators in the theatre, and not deliberating on matters of the higheſt moment, you could not have heard Neoptolemus with more indulgence, nor me with more reſentment[44]."

Æſchines returns from his embaſſy, and awakens the public reſentment againſt Philip.

Such was the diſpoſition of the aſſembly, when Æſchines returned from his Peloponneſian embaſſy. He had aſſembled the great council of the Arcadians; revealed to them the dangerous views of Philip, which threatened the liberty of Greece; and, notwithſtanding the powerful oppoſition of Hieronymus, and other Macedonian partiſans, had engaged that people to approve the patriot zeal of Athens, and to deliberate on taking arms in the common cauſe. In relating the ſucceſs of his embaſſy, he inveighed with great ſeverity againſt

43 Demoſthen. de Cherſoneſo, & de Pace.
44 Demoſthen. de Cherſoneſo.

thoſe

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thoſe mercenary traitors, who had ſold the intereſts of their country to a cruel tyrant. The Greeks had full warning of their danger. The miſerable fate of Olynthus ought ever to be before their eyes. At his return through Peloponneſus, he had beheld a ſight ſufficient to melt the moſt obdurate heart; thirty young Olynthians, of both ſexes, driven like a herd of cattle, as a preſent from Philip to ſome of the unworthy inſtruments of his ambition[45].

The ſuſceptible and ever-varying temper of the multitude was deeply affected by the repreſentations of Æſchines; the pacific advices of Neoptolemus and his aſſociates were forgotten; war and revenge again echoed through the aſſembly. At the requiſition of Æſchines, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to confirm the hoſtile reſolutions of the Arcadians, and to awaken the terror of the neighbouring republics. The Athenian youth were aſſembled in the temple of Agraulos to ſwear irreconcilable hatred againſt Philip and the Macedonians; and the moſt awful imprecations were denounced againſt the mercenary traitors who cooperated with the public enemy. This fermentation might at length have purified into ſtrong and deciſive meaſures; and had Philip poſſeſſed only an ordinary degree of vigilance, a confederacy might have been yet formed in Greece ſufficient to repel the Macedonian arms. But that conſummate politician thought nothing done while any

45 Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione, ſect. 5.

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thing was neglected; and, as he allowed not the lightest opportunity to pass unimproved, he often derived very important benefits from seemingly inconsiderable causes.

Dexterity of that prince in diverting the storm.

An Athenian of the name of Phrynon, a man wealthy and powerful, had been attacked, robbed, and confined by some Macedonian soldiers, who obliged him to purchase his liberty by a very considerable ransom[46]. As this violence had been committed during the fifteen days of truce that followed the celebration of the Olympic games, Phrynon very judiciously supposed that the king of Macedon, who had long been ambitious of obtaining a place in the Grecian confederacy, would not abet this act of injustice and impiety. He had therefore requested his countrymen, who at that time prepared to negociate with Philip an exchange of prisoners, to join him in commission with Ctesiphon, a man of experience and capacity, who had been already named to that embassy; imagining that by appearing in a public character, he might the more easily recover the ransom and other monies that had been unjustly extorted from him. Having arrived in Macedon, the ambassadors were received and treated by Philip with uncommon politeness and respect; their demands were most obligingly granted, or rather prevented; the king apologised to Phrynon for the ignorant rusticity of his soldiers, which had led them to act so unwarrantably; and he lamented both to Phrynon and Ctesiphon, the necessity of their present

[46] Æschines de falsa Legatione.

mission,

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miſſion, ſince he had nothing more ſincerely at heart than to live on good terms with their republic[47]. At their return to Athens, the repreſentations of ſuch men could not be without weight; nor could they fail being extremely favourable to the king of Macedon.

He improves every favourable incident.

Another incident followed, which was improved with no leſs dexterity[48]. At the taking and ſack of Olynthus, Stratocles and Eucrates, two Athenians of diſtinction, had been ſeized and carried into Macedon. By ſome accident theſe men had not been releaſed with the other priſoners. Their relations were anxious for their ſafety, and therefore applied to the Athenians, that a proper perſon might be ſent to treat of their ranſom. Ariſtodemus was employed in this commiſſion, but was more attentive to paying his court than performing his duty; and, at his return home, neglected to give an account of his negociation. Philip, meanwhile, whoſe vigilance never ſlept, and who well knew the hoſtile reſolutions in agitation againſt him at Athens, releaſed the priſoners without ranſom, and diſmiſſed them with the higheſt expreſſions of regard. Moved by gratitude, Stratocles appeared in the aſſembly, blazed forth the praiſes of the king of Macedon, and loudly complained againſt the careleſs indifference of Ariſtodemus, who had neglected to report his embaſſy[49].

The Athenians are perſuaded

The artful player, thus called upon to act his part, excuſed his omitting to relate *one* example of

47 Æſchines de falſa Legatione. 48 Id. ibid. 49 Id. ibid.

kindneſs,

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to ſend an embaſſy to Philip.

kindneſs, in a man who had recently given ſo many proofs of the moſt unbounded generoſity. He expatiated on the candour and benevolence of Philip, and eſpecially on his profound reſpect for the republic, with which, he aſſured them, the king of Macedon was earneſt to conclude a peace, and even to enter into an alliance, on the moſt honourable and advantageous terms. He probably reminded them of the misfortunes which had attended their arms ſince they commenced war againſt this prince. Fifteen hundred talents expended with diſgrace; ſeventy-five dependent cities, including thoſe of the Chalcidic region, loſt irrecoverably; Olynthus deſtroyed; Eubœa revolted; Athens diſhonoured and exhauſted; and Macedon more powerful and more reſpected than at any former period. This repreſentation did not exceed the truth; and the calamities of the war had long inclined to peace the more moderate and judicious portion of the aſſembly. The artificial generoſity of Philip, in his treatment of Phrynon and Stratocles, blazoned by the eloquence of Ariſtodemus, fixed the wavering irreſolution of the multitude. The military preparations were ſuſpended. Even Demoſthenes and Æſchines yielded to the torrent; and imagining that a bad peace was better than a bad war (ſince it was impoſſible to expect ſucceſs from the fluctuating councils of their country), ſupported a decree[50] of Philocrates for ſending a

[50] The decree was attacked by one Licinus. Demoſthenes defended it; and both Demoſthenes and Æſchines, as appears from the text, were on the embaſſy.

herald

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herald and ambaſſadors to diſcover the real intentions of Philip, and to hearken to the terms of accommodation with which he had ſo long amuſed them.

Character of the ambaſſadors.

The miniſters appointed to this commiſſion ſeem to have been purpoſely choſen among men of oppoſite principles, who might mutually be checks on each other. Phrynon, Cteſiphon, Ariſtodemus, and Philocrates, who had uniformly teſtified their confidence in the king of Macedon, were oppoſed by Æſchines and Demoſthenes, who had long diſcovered their ſuſpicions of that prince. To the embaſſy were added Nauſicles and Dercyllus, men diſtinguiſhed by the public offices which they had diſcharged with equal patriotiſm and fidelity; Jatrocles, the choſen friend of Æſchines; and Cimon, illuſtrious for the name he bore, which deſcended to him from the greateſt and moſt fortunate of the Athenian commanders. The whole number amounted to ten, beſides Agalocreon of Tenedos, who was ſent on the part of the Greek iſlands in alliance with Athens [51].

Difficulties occaſioned by the quarrel between Demoſthenes and Æſchines.

Thus far contemporary authors agree; but in deſcribing the events which followed the departure of the ambaſſadors, all is inconſiſtency and contradiction. The miſunderſtanding that aroſe between Æſchines and Demoſthenes, the former of whom was impeached by the latter, furniſh us, in the accuſation and defence, with the fulleſt and moſt diffuſe, but at the ſame time the leaſt authentic, materials, that preſent themſelves in any paſſage of

[51] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

Grecian

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Grecian hiſtory. The whole train of the negociation, as well as the events connected with it, are repreſented in colours the moſt diſcordant; facts are aſſerted and denied; while both parties appeal to the memory of the aſſembly before which they ſpoke, to the teſtimony of witneſſes, and even to the evidence of public decrees and records; circumſtances that muſt appear very extraordinary, unleſs we conſider that ſuborning of witneſſes, perjury, and even the falſifying of laws and records, were crimes not unuſual at Athens[52]. Amidſt this confuſion, the diſcerning eye of criticiſm would vainly endeavour to penetrate the truth. Æſchines was indeed acquitted by his countrymen. But nothing poſitive can be learned from a partial ſentence, pronounced three years after the alleged crimes had been committed, when the power of Philip had increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, as gave his faction a decided aſcendant even in the Athenian aſſembly.

Account of the negociation. Olymp. cviii. 1. cviii. 2. A.C. 348. and 347.

To diſentangle ſuch perplexity, we ſhall keep chiefly to thoſe facts which are allowed on both ſides, deducing from them ſuch conſequences as ſeem moſt natural and probable. In the courſe of one year, three embaſſies were ſent to Philip; the firſt to propoſe a peace, the ſecond to ratify it, the third to ſee the conditions of it obſerved; and in that ſpace of time Kerſobleptes, being ſtripped of his dominions, was reduced into captivity, and Philip having ſeized Thermopylæ, invaded Phocis,

[52] See my Diſcourſe on the Character and Manners of the Athenians, prefixed to Lyſias and Iſocrates.

and

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and deſtroyed the twenty-two cities of that province in leſs than twenty-two days. Nor was this all: a foreign prince having made himſelf maſter of Thermopylæ and the Helleſpont, the moſt valuable ſafeguards of Greece—having invaded and deſolated the territory of a Grecian republic, the moſt reſpectable for its antiquity, power, and wealth, the ſeat of the Amphictyonic council, and of the revered oracle of Delphi—Theſe daring meaſures tended ſo little to excite the diſpleaſure of Greece, that the king of Macedon had no ſooner accompliſhed them, than he threatened to attack Athens (who weakly lamented calamities which ſhe had neither prudence nor courage to prevent) at the head of a general confederacy of the Amphictyonic ſtates.

Diſſenſion of the ambaſſadors.

Such extraordinary tranſactions, of which hiſtory ſcarcely offers another example for the inſtruction of poſterity, Demoſthenes aſcribes entirely to the corruption and perfidy of the Athenian ambaſſadors. "The felicity of Philip," he ſays, "conſiſts chiefly in this; that having occaſion for traitors, fortune has given him men treacherous and corrupt beyond his moſt ſanguine hopes and prayers[53]." This doubtleſs is the exaggeration of an orator, deſirous by every means to blacken the character of his colleagues in the embaſſy, and particularly that of his adverſary Æſchines. Yet it will appear, from the moſt careful ſurvey of the

53 Subſequent writers have copied the language of Demoſthenes, και χρηματων πληθος διαδους τοις εν ταις πολεσι ισχυουσι, πολλους εσχε πεισθεντας των πολιτων. Diodorus, ubi ſupra.

events

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events of thoſe times, that the incapacity and neglect, if not the treaſon, of the Athenian miniſters, greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of the Macedonian arms.

Conference of the ambaſſadors with Philip.

From the firſt moment of their departure from Athens, the ambaſſadors began to betray their mutual jealouſies and ſuſpicions of each other's fidelity. The dangerous character of Philocrates was equally dreaded by Æſchines and Demoſthenes[54]; and the latter, if we may believe his rival, ſo much diſguſted the other ambaſſadors by the moroſe ſeverity of his temper, that they had almoſt excluded him their ſociety; a circumſtance rendered credible, not merely by the partial evidence of an adverſary, but by the reſentment and indignation always expreſſed by Demoſthenes againſt the behaviour of his colleagues. Having arrived at Pella, they were introduced to an audience; and ſpoke, as had been agreed on, in the order of their ſeniority. The diſcourſe of Æſchines was the moſt copious and elaborate, but ſeemed rather calculated for gaining merit with the Athenian aſſembly, than for influencing the conduct of Philip. "He recalled to the memory of the king, the favours of the Athenians towards his anceſtors; the diſtreſſed condition of the children of Amyntas; the ſolicitations of Euridicé; and the generous interpoſitions of Iphicrates, to whom the family of Philip owed the crown of Macedon. Having touched ſlightly on the ungrateful returns made by Ptolemy and Perdiccas, he dwelt on the

Speech of Æſchines.

54 Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

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injuſtice of thoſe hoſtilities which Philip had committed againſt the republic, eſpecially in taking Amphipolis, which his father Amyntas had acknowledged to be a dependent colony of Athens. He inſiſted on the impropriety of retaining this poſſeſſion, which as it could not be claimed by any ancient title, neither could it be held by the right of conqueſt, not being gained in any war between the two ſtates. In the time of profound peace between Athens and Macedon, Philip had taken from the Amphipolitans an Athenian city, which it concerned his juſtice and his honour to reſtore, without delay, to its lawful and acknowledged owners."

That of Demoſthenes.

Had Æſchines wiſhed to furniſh Philip with a pretence for protracting the negociation, he could not have done it more effectually than by ſuch a demand. It could not poſſibly be expected, that a victorious monarch ſhould ſet bounds to his own triumphs, in order to purchaſe peace by tamely ſurrendering one of the moſt important of his acquiſitions. In this light the propoſal appeared to Demoſthenes, who thought that his colleague had totally forgotten the object of the embaſſy, the diſtreſſed ſtate of Athens, how greatly the people had been haraſſed by the war, and how eagerly they wiſhed for peace. It was now his own turn to ſpeak before a prince whom he had often and highly offended, whoſe character and actions he had ever viewed and repreſented with the utmoſt ſeverity; but whom, on the preſent occaſion, it was his buſineſs to ſooth rather than to irritate.

The

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The novelty of the ſituation might have diſconcerted a man of leſs ſenſibility than Demoſthenes. The envious jealouſy of his colleagues was prepared to liſten, with a malicious ear, to thoſe irreſiſtible arguments which the orator is ſaid to have promiſed, with a very unbecoming confidence; the Macedonian courtiers expected ſome prodigy of eloquence from the perpetual opponent of their admired maſter. Amidſt the ſilent ſuſpenſe of an unfavourable audience, Demoſthenes began to ſpeak with ungrateful heſitation, and after uttering a few obſcure and interrupted ſentences, his memory totally forſook him. Philip endeavoured to remove his embarraſſment with a mortifying politeneſs, telling him that he was not now in a theatre[55], where ſuch an accident might be attended with diſagreeable conſequences; and exhorting him to take time for recollection, and to purſue his intended diſcourſe. Demoſthenes again began, but without better ſucceſs. The aſſembly beheld his confuſion with a malignant pleaſure; and the ambaſſadors were ordered to withdraw.

His embarraſſment and confuſion.

After a proper interval, they were ſummoned to the royal preſence. Philip received them with great dignity, and anſwered with preciſion and elegance the arguments reſpectively uſed by the ſeveral ſpeakers, particularly thoſe of Æſchines.

Philip anſwers the ambaſſadors;

55 Notwithſtanding the paſſion of the Athenians for dramatic entertainments, and their conſideration for the character of players beyond that of any other nation, they were indecently ſevere againſt their negligences and faults on the theatre; as appears from various paſſages of the judicial orations of Demoſthenes and Æſchines.

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The confuſed hints of Demoſthenes he paſſed over with merited neglect; thus proving to the world, that the man who had ever arraigned him with moſt ſeverity in the tumultuous aſſemblies of Greece, had not dared to ſay any thing in his preſence which deſerved the ſmalleſt notice or reply.

invites them to an entertainment.

The ambaſſadors were then invited to an entertainment, where Demoſthenes is ſaid to have behaved with great weakneſs, and where Philip diſplayed ſuch powers of merriment and feſtivity, as eclipſed his talents for negociation and war.

Their departure from Macedon.

The ambaſſadors were perſuaded of his candour and ſincerity, and diſmiſſed with a letter to the people of Athens, aſſuring them that his intentions were truly pacific, and that as ſoon as they conſented to an alliance with him, he would freely indulge thoſe ſentiments of affection and reſpect which he had ever entertained for their republic.

Artifices of Demoſthenes.

The mortification which Demoſthenes had received, made him at firſt vent his chagrin by condemning the conduct of his colleagues; but when he reflected, that a fair repreſentation of facts would greatly depreciate his character at Athens, policy prevailed over reſentment. He began privately to tamper with his companions on the road, freely rallied the confuſion into which he had been betrayed, extolled the ready genius and memory of Æſchines; and endeavoured, by promiſes and flattery, to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe whom his recent behaviour had juſtly provoked and diſguſted. In a converſation at Lariſſa in Theſſaly, he acknowledged the maſterly reaſoning

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ing of the king of Macedon. The ambaſſadors all joined in the praiſes of this extraordinary man. Æſchines admired the ſtrength and perſpicuity with which he had anſwered their reſpective diſcourſes; and Cteſiphon cried out in tranſport, that, in the courſe of a long life, he had never beheld a man of ſuch a polite and engaging deportment. Demoſthenes then artfully ſaid, "he apprehended they would not venture to make ſuch repreſentations to the Athenian aſſembly; that their honour and ſafety required them to be conſiſtent in their reports;" to which they all aſſented; and Æſchines acknowledges, that he was prevailed on by the intreaties of his rival to promiſe, that he would give a favourable and falſe account of the behaviour of Demoſthenes, and aſſure the people of Athens, that he had ſpoken with dignity and firmneſs on the affair of Amphipolis.

They report their negociation to the ſenate.

According to the forms of the republic, the ambaſſadors firſt reported the ſucceſs of their negociation, and delivered the letter of Philip, to the ſenate of the Five Hundred. They explained, in order, what each had ſaid in preſence of the king; when Demoſthenes, riſing up the laſt, affirmed with his uſual oath of aſſeveration[55], "that the ambaſſadors had not ſpoken in the ſenate as they did before Philip; that they had ſpoken much better in Macedon:" he then moved, that they ſhould be honoured with a crown of

[55] Μα Δια, indecently explained "by Jove," ſince the expreſſion is elliptical, and includes a ſhort prayer, ευχομαι τον Δια σωζειν τα ημα; "my aſſertion is true, may Jove thus protect me."

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ſacred olive [56], and invited next day to an entertainment in the Prytanæum [57].

The ſame reported to the aſſembly.

The day following, they made their report to the aſſembly of the people; when the ambaſſadors, finding the ſubject not diſagreeable to their hearers, expatiated on the politeneſs, condeſcenſion, eloquence, and abilities of the prince, with whom their republic was ready not only to negociate a peace, but to contract an alliance. Having allowed them to exhauſt this fertile ſubject, Demoſthenes at length aroſe, and, after thoſe contortions of body, which, if we believe his adverſary, were familiar to him, declared, that he was equally ſurpriſed at thoſe who, in a deliberation of ſuch importance, could talk of ſuch trifles, and at thoſe who could endure to hear them. "The negociation may be briefly reported. Here is the decree by which we are commiſſioned. We have executed this commiſſion. Here is Philip's anſwer (pointing to the letter). You have only to examine its contents." A confuſed murmur aroſe in the aſſembly, ſome applauding the ſtrength and preciſion of the ſpeech, others condemning the aſperity of the ſpeaker. As ſoon as he could be heard, Demoſthenes thus proceeded: "You ſhall ſee how I will lop off thoſe ſuperfluous matters. Æſchines praiſes the memory and eloquence of Philip, in which, however, I find nothing extraordinary, ſince any other man, placed in the ſame advantage-

Extraordinary behaviour of Demoſthenes.

56 See the diſcourſe of Lyſias on an accuſation for cutting down a conſecrated olive.

57 Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

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ous circumſtances of rank and fortune, would be equally attended to and admired. Cteſiphon praiſes the gracefulneſs and dignity of his perſon; my colleague Ariſtodemus does not yield to him in theſe particulars. Others admire his mirth and gaiety at table, yet in ſuch qualities Philocrates excels him[58]. But this is unſeaſonable. I ſhall therefore draw up a decree for convening an extraordinary aſſembly, to deliberate on the peace and the alliance[59]."

Philip ſends ambaſſadors to Athens,

The decree was propoſed on the eighth of March, and the aſſembly was fixed for the ſeventeenth of the ſame month. In the interval, arrived, as ambaſſadors from Philip, Antipater, the moſt reſpected of his miniſters; Parmenio, the braveſt of his generals; and Eurylochus, who united, almoſt in an equal degree, the praiſe of eloquence and valour. Parmenio had been employed in the ſiege of Halus, a place filled with malcontents from Theſſaly, who ſtill reſiſted the Macedonian power in that country. That he might have leiſure to join his colleagues, Parmenio ordered the ſiege to be converted into a blockade; and the merit of three ſuch ambaſſadors ſufficiently announced the important purpoſes which Philip wiſhed to effect by the preſent negociation. They were received with great diſtinction by the ſenate, and (what ſeems extraordinary) lodged in the houſe of Demoſthenes,

58 Even by Demoſthenes's teſtimony, it required the combination of ſeveral Athenian characters to match the various excellencies of Philip.

59 Æſchin. de falſa Legatione.

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who was careful to adorn their ſeats in the theatre, and to diſtinguiſh them by every other mark of honour[60]. Having been introduced, on the appointed day, into the aſſembly, they declared the object of their commiſſion, to conclude in the name of their maſter a peace and alliance with the people of Athens. Demoſthenes, in an elaborate ſpeech, urged the expediency of liſtening to their demands; but without neglecting the intereſt of the Athenian allies. Æſchines delivered the ſame opinion, and ſeverely reproached Philocrates, who urged the neceſſity of precipitating the treaty. The two firſt days were ſpent in debate; but on the third, the influence of Philocrates prevailed, chiefly, if we believe Demoſthenes, by the unexpected acceſſion of Æſchines to that party. He, who had hitherto been a ſtrenuous defender of the intereſt of Kerſobleptes, declared that he had now altered his opinion. That peace was neceſſary for Athens, and ought not to be retarded by the ſlow deliberations of other powers. That the circumſtances of the republic were changed; and that, in their actual ſituation, it was an idle vanity to attend to thoſe who flattered them with pompous panegyrics of the magnanimity of their anceſtors; ſince the weakneſs of Athens was no longer called on to undertake the protection of every ſtate that could not defend its own cauſe[61].

who corrupt Æſchines.

During the negociation Phi-

Demoſthenes had formerly ſuſpected the treachery of Æſchines; but this ſpeech fully convinced him,

60 Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. 61 Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione.

that

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that if his adverſary had not before ſold himſelf to Philip, he had then been tampered with, and gained by the Macedonian ambaſſadors. But Demoſthenes, and the aſſembly in general, ſaw the neceſſity of immediately ratifying the peace with that prince, who had actually taken the field in Thrace, along the coaſt of which the Athenians ſtill poſſeſſed Serrium, Doriſcus, and ſeveral other tributary cities. A decree was propoſed for this purpoſe, and ambaſſadors were named, who might, with all convenient ſpeed, repair to Philip, in order mutually to give and receive the oaths and ratifications of the treaty juſt concluded at Athens. The ambaſſadors were Eubulus, Æſchines, Cteſiphon, Democrates, and Cleon; the principal of whom, being entirely devoted to the Macedonian intereſt, contrived various pretences to delay their departure. In this interval, Kerſobleptes met with the unhappy fate of which we have already taken notice; and Philip, encouraged by the ſucceſs of his intrigues, ventured to attack the cities of Serrium and Doriſcus, which readily ſubmitted to his arms [62]. Upon intelligence of the latter event, the Athenians diſpatched Euclides to inform the king of Macedon, that the places which he had taken belonged to Athens; to which he coldly replied, that he had not been ſo inſtructed by his ambaſſadors, nor was there any mention of thoſe cities in the treaty recently ſigned, but not yet ratified, between the two powers.

Philip continues to make conqueſts in Thrace.

Æſchines and his colleagues ſtill delayed to ſet out, although the conduct of Philip continually

Third embaſſy to Philip.

62 Demoſthen. Orat. v. in Philipp.

urged

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urged the neceſſity of haſtening their departure. They were finally ordered to be gone, in conſequence of a decree propoſed by Demoſthenes [63], who was unable to prevail on the Athenians, till it was too late, to pay due regard to the intereſt of Kerſobleptes. In twenty-five days the Athenian miniſters arrived at Pella, a journey which they might have performed in ſix; and inſtead of directly proceeding to Philip, who was employed in reducing the cities on the Propontis, they patiently waited, above three weeks, the return of that monarch to his capital. During their reſidence in Pella, they were joined by Demoſthenes, who, at his own requeſt, had been added to this commiſſion, under pretence of ranſoming ſome Athenian captives, but in reality with a view to watch the conduct of his colleagues. Philip at length arrived: the ambaſſadors were called to an audience. On this occaſion they ſpoke not as formerly, according to their reſpective ages, but in an order, if we believe Æſchines, firſt eſtabliſhed by the imprudence of Demoſthenes; whoſe diſcourſe, as repreſented by his adverſary, muſt have appeared highly ridiculous, even in an age when the decent formality of public tranſactions was little known or regarded.

Speech of Demoſthenes;

Anticipating his more experienced colleagues, he obſerved, "That they were unfortunately divided in their views and ſentiments. That his own were ſtrictly conformable to thoſe of Philip. From

[63] Demoſth. de falſa Legatione.

the

the beginning he had advised a peace and alliance with Macedon. That he had procured all possible honours for the ambassadors of that country during their residence in Athens, and had afterwards escorted their journey as far as Thebes. He knew that his good intentions had been misrepresented to Philip, on account of some expressions that had dropped from him in the Athenian assembly. But if he had denied the superior excellence of that prince in beauty, in drinking, and in debate[64], it was, because he believed such qualities to belong to a woman, a spunge, and a hireling rhetorician and sophist, rather than to a warlike monarch, and mighty conqueror." This extraordinary apology excited the derision of the Macedonian courtiers, and made the Athenian ambassadors hold down their heads in confusion[65].

of Æschines.

Æschines first recovered his composure; and modestly addressing Philip, observed, "That the present was not a proper occasion for the Athenian ministers to praise or to defend their own conduct. They had been deemed worthy of their commission by the republic which employed them, and to which alone they were accountable[66]. Their actual business was to receive Philip's oath in ratification of the treaty already concluded on the part of Athens. The military preparations carrying on in every part of Macedon could not but ex-

64 See above, p. 119.

65 Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

66 The speech of Æschines, as reported by himself, is inimitably graceful and dignified. Λεγων· ὁτι πεμψειαν ημας Αθηναιοι πρεσβεις, &c. Vid. p. 261, & seqq. edit. Wolf.

cite

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cite their fears for the unhappy Phocians. But he intreated Philip, that, if he was determined to gratify the Thebans by making war on that unfortunate people, he would make at leaſt a proper diſtinction between the innocent and the guilty. The ſacrilegious violators of the temple ought to be puniſhed with due ſeverity; the ſtate itſelf muſt be ſpared; ſince the laws and inſtitutions of Greece guard the ſafety of every Amphictyonic city. Æſchines then ſpoke, in the ſevereſt terms, againſt the injuſtice and cruelty of the Thebans, who, he ventured to propheſy, would repay the partiality of Philip with the ſame falſehood and ingratitude with which they had been accuſtomed to requite their former allies and benefactors."

Philip's profound diſſimulation in treaties with the Athenian ambaſſadors.

The diſcourſe of Æſchines, though it could not be expected to move the reſolutions of the king, was well calculated to raiſe the credit of the ſpeaker, when it ſhould be reported in his own country. Philip confined himſelf to vague expreſſions of friendſhip and reſpect. The ambaſſadors of Thebes were already at Pella, a circumſtance which furniſhed him with a pretence for declining to make an explicit declaration in favour of Phocis. But he hinted his compaſſionate concern for that republic; and requeſted the Athenians to accompany him to Theſſaly, that he might avail himſelf of their abilities and experience to ſettle the affairs of that country, which required his immediate preſence. Extraordinary as this demand was, the Athenians readily complied with it, notwithſtanding the king, who had ordered his army to march, was attended

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attended in this expedition by the ambaſſadors of Thebes, who, as well as the Athenians, were daily entertained at his table, and whoſe views were diametrically oppoſite to the intereſts both of Phocis and of Athens[67].

The unhappy and diſtracted ſituation of the former republic promiſed a ſpeedy iſſue to the Sacred War, which, for more than two years, had been feebly carried on between the Phocians on one ſide, and the Thebans and Locrians on the other, by ſuch petty incurſions and ravages as indicated the inveterate rancour of combatants, who ſtill retained the deſire of hurting, after they had loſt the power[68]. During the greater part of that time, the Athenians, amuſed by their negociation with Philip, afforded no aſſiſtance to their unfortunate allies. The treaſures of Delphi, immenſe as they were, at length began to fail. The Phocians, thus abandoned and exhauſted, reflected with terror and remorſe on their paſt conduct; and, in order to make atonement for their ſacrilegious violations of the temple, inſtituted a judicial enquiry againſt Phaleucus, their general, and his accomplices, in plundering the dedications to Apollo[69]. Several were condemned to death; Phaleucus was depoſed; and the Phocians, having performed theſe ſubſtantial acts of juſtice, which tended to remove the odium that had long adhered to their cauſe, ſolicited with better hopes of ſucceſs the aſſiſtance of Sparta and Athens.

The Phocian war carried on with little activity on either ſide. Olymp. cviii. 2. A.C. 349.

The Phocians condemn the plunderers of the temple.

67 Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione. 68 Diodor. l. xvi. p. 454.
69 Idem, l. xvi. p. 452.

But

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The Spartans claim the ſuperintendence of the temple.

But the crafty Archidamus, who had long directed the Spartan councils, conſidered the diſtreſs of the Phocians as a favourable opportunity to urge the claim of his own republic to the ſuperintendence of the Delphic temple; and actually ſent ambaſſadors into Theſſaly, to confer with the king of Macedon on that ſubject [70]. The Athenians paid more attention to the requeſt of their allies, who, as an inducement to excite their activity, offered to put them in poſſeſſion of the towns of Nicæa, Alpenus, and Thronium, which commanded the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. But this ſalutary plan, which might have retarded the fate of Greece, was defeated by Phaleucus, who commanding eight thouſand mercenaries, that acknowledged no authority but that of their general, eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Nicæa, and deſpiſed the menaces both of Phocis and of Athens.

Phaleucus and his mercenaries ſeize Nicæa.

Diſaſter of the Phocians in the temple of Abæan Apollo.

Mortifying as this diſappointment muſt have been, it was followed by a diſaſter in another quarter ſtill more terrible. The Phocians had fortified the city of Abæ, to defend their northern frontier againſt the depredations of the Locrians. The Thebans, reinforced by ſome auxiliaries of Macedon, marched againſt that place. The Phocians, with more courage than prudence, met them in the field; but were defeated with great ſlaughter, and purſued in their diſordered flight, through the ſurrounding territory. A party of above five hundred took refuge in the temple of

[70] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. ubi ſupra.

Abæan

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Abæan Apollo, where they remained for ſeveral days, ſleeping under the porticoes, on beds of dried herbs, ſtraw, and other combuſtible materials. An accidental fire, that began in the night, was communicated to the whole edifice, part of which was conſumed, while the unhappy Phocians were ſtifled, or burnt to aſhes [71].

The Thebans failed not to repreſent this calamity as a judgment of Heaven, againſt the daring impiety of wretches, who had ventured to take refuge in the temple of a god whom their ſacrilege had long offended. They entreated Philip to aſſiſt them in deſtroying the remnant of the guilty race. This was the chief purpoſe of their embaſſy to that prince, whom the Athenians, as related above, entreated to ſpare the nation, while he puniſhed the criminals; and the Lacedæmonians, regardleſs of the fate of Phocis, thought only of making good their ancient claim to the guardianſhip of the Delphic temple.

The Thebans inſtigate Philip to deſolate Phocis.

Philip treated the deputies of the three republics with apparent frankneſs and cordiality, under the veil of which he knew ſo well to diſguiſe the intereſts of his policy and ambition. He aſſured the Thebans, that his arms ſhould be employed to recover for them the towns of Orchomenus, Coronæa, and Tilphoſſeum, which, ever ready to rebel againſt a tyrannical capital, had readily ſubmitted to the Phocians, during their invaſion of Bœotia. The Phocians, he ſaid, had rendered

Philip attempts in vain to corrupt the Theban ambaſſadors.

[71] Diodorus, p. 454.

themſelves

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themſelves the objects of divine diſpleaſure; it would be as meritorious to puniſh, as it was impious to protect them. He was determined that both they and their allies ſhould ſuffer thoſe calamities which their crimes ſo juſtly deſerved. Thus far Philip was ſincere; for, in theſe particulars, the views of Thebes were exactly conformable to his own. But in his mind he agitated other matters, in which the intereſt of Thebes interfered with that of Macedon. To accompliſh thoſe purpoſes, without offending his allies, it was neceſſary to gain the ambaſſadors. Careſſes, flattery, and promiſes, were laviſhed in vain. Money was at length tendered with a profuſe liberality; but, though no man ever poſſeſſed more addreſs than Philip in rendering his bribes acceptable, the Theban deputies remained honeſt and uncorrupted, firmly maintaining to the end their patriotiſm and their honour. Philon, the chief of the embaſſy, anſwered for his colleagues: "We are already perſuaded of your friendſhip for us, independent of your preſents. Reſerve your generoſity for our country, on which it will be more profitably beſtowed, ſince your favours, conferred on Thebes, will ever excite the gratitude both of that republic and its miniſters[72]."

Philip corrupts and deceives the Athenian ambaſſadors.

Demoſthenes extols the dignity of this reply, as becoming rather the ambaſſadors of Athens. But theſe miniſters, though one object of their commiſſion was to ſave the Grecian ſtate which the

[72] Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione.

Thebans

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Thebans wiſhed to deſtroy, diſcovered neither integrity nor ſpirit. All of them, but Demoſthenes himſelf, accepted the preſents of the king of Macedon, who found little difficulty in perſuading men, thus prepoſſeſſed in his favour, that he pitied the Phocians; that he reſpected Athens; that he deteſted the inſolence of Thebes; and that, ſhould he ever proceed to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, his expedition would be more dangerous to that ſtate than to its enemies. At preſent, however, he obſerved, that he had private reaſons for managing the friendſhip of a people who ſet no bounds to their reſentment. From ſuch motives, he had hitherto declined ratifying the peace with Athens; but this meaſure he would no longer defer. He only entreated, that to ſave appearances with the Thebans, the name of the Phocians might be omitted in the treaty. This arduous work was at length brought to a concluſion; and, for the more ſecrecy, tranſacted in a place which Demoſthenes calls a tavern, adjoining to the temple of Pollux, in the neighbourhood of Pheræ. The Athenian ambaſſadors took leave, affecting to be perſuaded (perhaps perſuaded in reality) of the good intentions of the king of Macedon. About the ſame time, the ambaſſadors of Sparta departed, but with far leſs ſatisfaction. They either perceived, from the beginning, the artifices of the prince with whom they came to treat, or at leaſt made ſuch a report to Archidamus, as convinced him that his republic had not any advantage to expect from the preponderance of the Macedonian intereſt,

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tereſt, and the deſtruction of the Phocians; and that, ſhould the Spartans perſiſt in their claim to the ſuperintendance of the Delphic temple, they muſt prepare to aſſert it by force of arms.

Philip's flattering letter to the Athenians.

Archidamus raiſed an army for this purpoſe, and marched towards the ſtraits. But the intrigues of Philip, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate, rendered his hoſtility as impotent as his negociations had been fruitleſs. From Theſſaly that prince had already ſent a letter to the Athenians, couched in the moſt artful terms. He expreſſed his profound reſpect for the ſtate, and his high eſteem for its ambaſſadors; declaring that he ſhould omit no opportunity of proving how earneſtly he deſired to promote the proſperity and glory of Athens. He requeſted that the means might be pointed out to him, by which he could moſt effectually gratify the people. Of the conditions of the peace and alliance, he was careful to make no mention; but after many other general declarations of his good-will, he entreated them "not to be offended at his detaining their ambaſſadors, of whoſe eloquence and abilities he wiſhed to avail himſelf in ſettling the affairs of Theſſaly[71]."

Æſchines gives an account of the embaſſy to the Athenian aſſembly.

Soon afterwards theſe ambaſſadors returned home; and having given an account of their negociation to the ſenate of the Five hundred, with very little ſatisfaction to that ſelect body, they next appeared before the popular aſſembly. Æſchines firſt mounted the roſtrum, and in an elaborate and artful diſ-

[71] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. ubi ſupra.

courſe,

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courſe, ſet forth the advantages reſulting from his ſucceſsful embaſſy, in which he had perſuaded Philip to embrace preciſely thoſe meaſures which the intereſt of Athens required. That, now, the people had peace inſtead of war, and that, without haraſſing themſelves by military expeditions, they had only to remain quietly at home, enjoying the amuſements of the city, and in a few days they would learn that Philip had paſſed Thermopylæ, to take vengeance, not on the Phocians, but on the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war, and who, having entertained a deſign of ſeizing the temple, were not the leſs culpable (as had been proved to Philip) becauſe they had failed in this impious purpoſe. That the Bœotian allies of Theſpiæ and Platæa, whoſe hatred to Thebes was as inveterate as their attachment to Athens was ſincere, would be reſtored to their priſtine ſtrength and ſplendour. That the Thebans, not the Phocians, would be compelled to pay the fine impoſed by the Amphictyonic council, and to repair the fatal effects of ſacrilege and profanation. That the magiſtrates of Thebes foreſaw the hoſtility of Philip, and well knew by whom it had been excited. "They have therefore," ſaid Æſchines, "devoted me to deſtruction, and actually ſet a price upon my head. The people of Eubœa are equally alarmed by our accommodation with Philip, not doubting that their iſland will be reſtored to us as an equivalent for Amphipolis. Nor are theſe the only advantages of the treaty: another point of ſtill higher importance, a point of the

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moſt intimate concern to the public, has been ſecured. But of this I ſhall ſpeak at another time, ſince at preſent I perceive the envy and malignity of certain perſons ready to break forth." The advantage hinted at, with ſuch ſignificant obſcurity, was the recovery of Oropus, a conſiderable city on the Athenian frontier, which had long been ſubject to Thebes.

The ſuſpicions of Demoſthenes ridiculed by his colleagues.

This ſpecious harangue, ſo flattering to the indolence and vain hopes of the multitude, was received with general approbation, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Demoſthenes, who declared that he knew nothing of all thoſe great advantages promiſed by his colleague; and that he did not expect them. Æſchines and Philocrates heard him with the ſupercilious contempt of men who poſſeſſed a ſecret with which he was unacquainted. But when he endeavoured to continue his diſcourſe, and to expoſe their artifice and inſincerity, all was clamour, indignation, and inſult. Æſchines bade him remember, not to claim any ſhare of the rewards due to the important ſervices of his colleagues. Philocrates, with an air of pleaſantry, ſaid, it was no wonder that the hopes of Demoſthenes were leſs ſanguine than his own, "ſince he drinks water; I wine." This inſipid jeſt was received with loud burſts of laughter and applauſe, which prevented the aſſembly from attending to the ſpirited remonſtrances of Demoſthenes. A motion was made, and agreed to, for thanking Philip for his equitable and friendly intentions, as well as for ratifying a perpetual peace and alliance between Athens

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Athens and Macedon. In the ſame decree, it was determined that the Phocians ſhould ſubmit to the Amphictyonic council, under pain of incurring the diſpleaſure of the republic[74].

The ſucceſs of Philip's artifices with the Athenians deceives the Phocian ambaſſadors at Athens;

Theſe articles, together with the ſecret motives which produced them, were, by the emiſſaries of Philip, immediately communicated to the Phocian ambaſſadors then reſiding at Athens; who, tranſported with joy at the proſpect of averting the calamities which long threatened their country, loſt no time in tranſmitting the agreeable intelligence to their fellow-citizens. They concluded, with a high degree of probability, that, however Philip might deceive the Phocians, the miniſters of Athens could never be ſo bold as publicly to deceive the Athenians; and that, therefore, they could no longer entertain any reaſonable doubt of the favourable diſpoſition of the king of Macedon. This belief was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that when Archidamus marched into Phocis at the head of an army in order to defend the temple againſt Philip, the Phocians rejected his aſſiſtance, obſerving, that they feared for Sparta much more than for themſelves; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned into Peloponneſus[75].

which makes the Phocians reject the aſſiſtance of Sparta.

Philip negociates with Pharleucus the ceſſion of Nicæa.

Philip was now prepared for executing his grand enterpriſe. Halus, long beſieged, had ſubmitted to the united arms of Parmenio and his own. Freſh troops had arrived from Macedon. The Athenians were appeaſed; the Lacedemonians had

74 Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione.

75 Ibid.

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retired; the Phocians were impoſed on; the Theſſalians, Thebans, and Locrians, were ready to follow his ſtandard. One obſtacle only remained, and that eaſy to be ſurmounted. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thouſand mercenaries, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Nicæa. But a man who had betrayed the intereſt of his own republic, could not be very obſtinate in defending the cauſe of Greece. Philip entered into a negociation with him, in order to get poſſeſſion of Nicæa[76], without which it would have been impoſſible to paſs the Thermopylæ; and while this tranſaction was going forward, wrote repeated letters to the Athenians, full of cordiality and affection.

Philip continues to veil his deſigns in obſcurity.

He ſuſpected the dangerous capriciouſneſs of a people, whoſe ſecurity might yet be alarmed; and whoſe oppoſition might ſtill prove fatal to his deſigns, ſhould they either march forth to the ſtraits, or command their admiral Proxenus, who was ſtationed in the Opuntian gulph, between Locris and Eubœa, to intercept the Macedonian convoys; for the frontiers both of Phocis and Theſſaly having long lain waſte in conſequence of the ſacred war, Philip received his proviſions chiefly by ſea. The ſeaſonable profeſſions of friendſhip, contained in the letters, not only kept the Athenians from liſtening to the remonſtrances of Demoſthenes, but prevailed on them to depute that orator, together with Æſchines, and ſeveral others, whoſe advice and aſſiſtance Philip affected to deſire in ſettling the arduous buſineſs in which he was engaged. De-

[76] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 455.

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moſthenes ſaw through the artifice of his enemies, for withdrawing him, at this important criſis, from his duty in the aſſembly: he therefore abſolutely refuſed the commiſſion. Æſchines, on pretence of ſickneſs, ſtaid at home to watch and counteract the meaſures of his rival. The other ambaſſadors departed, in compliance with the requeſt of Philip, and the orders of their republic, and in hopes of ſeeing a treaty fulfilled, which, they had been taught to believe, would be attended with conſequences equally advantageous and honourable[77].

Diſaſters of Phaleucus and his followers.

While the ambaſſadors travelled through Eubœa, in their way to join the king of Macedon, they learned, to their utter aſtoniſhment, the wonderful events that had been tranſacted. Phaleucus had been perſuaded to evacuate Nicæa. He retired towards Peloponneſus, and embarked at Corinth, with a view to ſail to Italy, where he expected to form an eſtabliſhment. But the capricious and ungovernable temper of his followers compelled him to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Elis. After this they re-embarked, and ſailed to Crete, where their invaſion proved fatal to their general. Having returned to the Peloponneſus, they were defeated by the Elians and Arcadians. The greater part of thoſe who ſurvived the battle, fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were ſhot with arrows or precipitated from rocks. A feeble remnant eſcaped to their ſhips, but periſhed ſoon afterwards in an inſurrection which

77 Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione.

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they had excited, or fomented, in the iſle of Sicily. The deſtruction of this numerous body of men is aſcribed by ancient hiſtorians[78] to the divine vengeance which purſued their ſacrilege and impiety. It is aſtoniſhing that thoſe ſuperſtitious writers did not reflect on the ſwifter and more terrible deſtruction that overtook the whole Phocian nation, by whom the wickedneſs of Phaleucus and his followers had been ſo recently condemned; and by whom, had not power been wanting, it would have been puniſhed with an exemplary rigour.

Cruel decree of the Amphictyons againſt Phocis;

Philip having paſſed the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, was received by the Phocians as their deliverer. He had promiſed to plead their cauſe before the Amphictyonic council, to the deciſions of which that credulous people conſented to ſubmit, well knowing that a prince who entered Greece at the head of a numerous army might eaſily controul the reſolutions of the Amphictyons, and fondly believing that prince to be their friend. The deputies of Athens had not yet arrived; thoſe of the ſouthern republics had not even been ſummoned. The Locrians, Thebans, and Theſſalians, alone compoſed the aſſembly that was to decide the fate of Phocis; a country which they had perſecuted with unrelenting hoſtility in a war of ten years. The ſentence was ſuch as might be expected from the cruel reſentment of the judges. It was decreed that the Phocians ſhould be excluded from the general confederacy of Greece, and for ever deprived of the right to ſend repreſentatives to the

[78] Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xx. gives this as the general opinion.

council

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council of Amphictyons: that their arms and horſes ſhould be ſold for the benefit of Apollo; that they ſhould be allowed to keep poſſeſſion of their lands, but compelled to pay annually from their produce the value of ſixty thouſand talents, till they had completely indemnified the temple; that their cities ſhould be diſmantled, and reduced to diſtinct villages, containing no more than ſixty houſes each, at the diſtance of a furlong from each other; and that the Corinthians, who had recently given them ſome aſſiſtance, ſhould therefore be deprived of the preſidency at the Pythian games; which important prerogative, together with the ſuperintendence of the temple of Delphi, as well as the right of ſuffrage in the Amphictyonic council, loſt by the Phocians, ſhould thenceforth be transferred to the king of Macedon. It was decreed that the Amphictyons, having executed theſe regulations, ſhould next proceed to procure all due repairs and expiations to the temple, and ſhould exert their wiſdom and their power to eſtabliſh, on a ſolid foundation, the tranquillity and happineſs of Greece [79].

which is cruelly executed by the Macedonians. Olymp. cviii. 2. A. C. 347.

This extraordinary decree, when communicated to the Phocians, filled that miſerable people with ſuch terror and diſmay, as rendered them totally incapable of acting with vigour or with union. They took not any *common* meaſures for repelling the invader; a few cities only, more daring than the reſt, endeavoured, with unequal ſtrength, to defend their walls, their temples, and the revered

79 Diodor. l. xvi. c. lix. & ſeqq.

tombs

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tombs of their anceſtors. Their feeble reſiſtance was ſoon overcome; all oppoſition ceaſed; and the Macedonians proceeded to execute the will of the Amphictyonic council with inflexible cruelty, and with ſuch undiſturbed order and ſilence as ſeemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fierceſt war. Without dropping a tear, or heaving a ſigh, ſince the ſmalleſt mark of regret was conſtrued into an obſtinacy of guilt, the wretched Phocians beheld the deſtruction of their ancient monuments and trophies, their proud walls levelled with the ground, the fertile banks of the divine Cephiſſus covered with ruin and deſolation, and the venerable cities of Daulis, Penopeus, Lilæa, and Hyampolis, which had flouriſhed above nine centuries in ſplendour and proſperity, and which will ever flouriſh in the ſong of Homer, ſo totally burned or demoliſhed as ſcarcely to leave a veſtige of their exiſtence [80]. After this terrible havoc of whatever they poſſeſſed moſt valuable and reſpected, the inhabitants were driven like herds of cattle to the ſettlements allotted for them, and compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the benefit of ſtern and unrelenting maſters. At the diſtance of three years, travellers, who paſſed through Phocis to viſit the temple of Delphi, melted with compaſſion, or ſhuddered with horror, at the ſight of ſuch piteous and unexampled devaſtation. They turned their reluctant eyes from the ſhattered ruins of a country, and a people once ſo illuſtrious; the youth, and men of full age,

[80] Pauſanias in Phocic. & Diodor. l. xvi. c. lix. & ſeqq.

had

had either periſhed in the war, or been dragged into captivity; the populous cities were no more; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children, and wretched old men, whoſe ſilent but emphatic expreſſions of deep-rooted miſery exceeded all power of words to deſcribe[81]. CHAP. XXXV.

The unexpected news of theſe melancholy events reached Athens in five days. The people were then aſſembled in the Piræus to examine the ſtate of their harbours and ſhipping. The dreadful intelligence filled them with conſternation. They imagined that they already beheld the deſtructive armies of Macedon and Theſſaly, excited by the inveterate hoſtility of Thebes, pouring in upon their northern frontier, and overwhelming the whole country with havoc and deſolation. A decree immediately paſſed, at the motion of Calliſthenes, which marked the utmoſt danger and diſmay. It was reſolved, "that the Athenians, who uſually reſided in the country, ſhould be ſummoned to the defence of the city; that thoſe, within the diſtance of twelve miles round, ſhould, along with their perſons, tranſport their moſt valuable effects into the city or the Piræus; that thoſe at a greater diſtance ſhould reſpectively convey themſelves and their property to the neareſt fortreſſes, particularly Eleuſis, Phylé, Aphidna, and Sunium, the principal places of ſtrength in the Attic territory[82]." The news of theſe events produce conſternation in Athens.

This decree ſhews, that terror was the firſt movement of the Athenians; but vengeance was Philip writes the Athenians

[81] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de falſa Legat. & de Coron.
[82] Demoſthen. de falſa Legat. ſect. 20.

the

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in a ſtyle very different from what he had formerly uſed.

the ſecond. Reluctantly cooped up within their walls, they called aloud for arms: levies were prepared for the relief of Phocis; and their admiral Proxenus, who had lately returned from the neighbouring coaſt, was ordered again to direct his courſe towards that country. The king of Macedon was duly attentive to thoſe tranſactions, of which he had been regularly informed by his emiſſaries. He therefore wrote a letter to the Athenians, in that ſtyle of ſuperiority which the ſucceſs of his policy and of his arms juſtly entitled him to aſſume. After acquainting them with his treatment of the Phocians, he mentions his being informed of their preparations for ſupporting that impious people, who were not included in the treaty of peace recently ſigned and ratified between Athens and Macedon. He exhorts them to lay aſide this unwarrantable deſign, which could have no other effect than to ſhow the iniquity and extravagance of their conduct, in arming againſt a prince, with whom they had ſo lately concluded an alliance. "But if you perſiſt, know that we are prepared for repelling your hoſtilities with equal firmneſs and vigour."

The Athenians paſs a decree for receiving the fugitive Phocians.

This mortifying letter was received at the ſame time that the Athenian ambaſſadors returned from Eubœa, and brought ſuch accounts of the deſtruction of the Phocians, that it appeared ſcarcely poſſible to afford them any relief. All that remained was to ſave from the unrelenting vengeance of their enemies, the miſerable wreck of that unfortunate

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tunate community. The Athenians paſſed a decree for receiving the fugitives with kindneſs, and for providing them with ſettlements in Attica, or in the foreign dependencies of the republic; a reſolution which, though it was founded on the moſt evident duties of gratitude and humanity towards ancient and faithful allies, gave great offence to the inexorable cruelty of the Theſſalians and Thebans [83].

Philip protects the Phocians againſt the inhuman vengeance of their Grecian foes;

Amidſt theſe tranſactions the Macedonian partiſans, and eſpecially Æſchines and Philocrates, whoſe vain aſſurances had been attended with ſuch fatal effects, had juſt cauſe to dread the reſentment of their country. The former, who had been the principal agent in this diſgraceful ſcene of intrigue and deluſion, no longer affected ſickneſs; he forgot the threatenings denounced againſt him by Thebes; he diſregarded the Athenian decree, prohibiting any citizen to ſtir from the walls; and having waited for, and beheld the deſtruction of the Phocians with as much indifference, if we may believe his adverſary, as he would have ſeen the concluſion of any ordinary affair, which concerned merely his pecuniary intereſt, he repaired to Philip to receive the wages of his iniquity. Æſchines accounts for his journey at this time by a more honourable but leſs probable cauſe, the deſire of ſaving the feeble and unhappy remnant of the Phocian nation, who were perſecuted to extremity by

[83] Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de falſa Legat. ſect. 20.

the

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the barbarous vengeance of their Grecian foes, and protected at the interceſſion of the Athenian orator, by the clemency or compaſſion of the Macedonians. There is reaſon to believe that Æſchines, in order to gain merit with his countrymen, whoſe reſentment he had ſo highly provoked, oppoſed an inhuman reſolution of precipitating from rocks all thoſe of the Phocians who had attained the age of puberty. But the king of Macedon, whoſe character was not naturally flagitious, or cruel without neceſſity, muſt, of his own accord, have been inclined to avert ſuch an atrocious and bloody ſentence, which, without promoting his intereſt, would have for ever ruined his fame.

and the Bœotians againſt the cruelty of Thebes.

This concluſion appears the more probable, ſince, we are aſſured, that, upon the ſame principle, but with far leſs ſucceſs, he aſſumed the protection of the oppreſſed Bœotians. Orchomenus, Coronæa, Hyampolis, with other cities of leſs note in Bœotia, were, in conſequence of the ruin of their Phocian allies, again ſubjected to the dominion of Thebes; a republic, always haughty and unrelenting, who on this occaſion prepared to treat the rebels with more than her uſual inſolence and cruelty. Philip eſpouſed the cauſe of the injured with a generous ardour, extremely diſagreeable to the Thebans. His humanity, whether real or affected, was loudly extolled by his partiſans in moſt republics of Greece. It redounded, however, more to his own glory, than to the benefit of the afflicted Bœotians; who, being expelled from their

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own country by the intolerable oppreſſion of Theban tyranny, ſought refuge in the compaſſionate boſom of Athens [84].

Macedon declared by the Amphictyons a member of the Hellenic body. Olymp. cviii. 3. A.C. 346.

Having finiſhed the ſacred war in a manner ſo favourable to his own intereſt and ambition, Philip convened the members of the Amphictyonic council, to the number of two hundred, and aſſiſted in the hymns, prayers, and ſacrifices offered to Apollo, in acknowledgment of his divine protection of their councils and arms. The name of the pious king of Macedon, who had been the principal inſtrument of their ſucceſs, reſounded in the ſacred Pœans ſung in honour of the God. The Amphictyons ratified all the tranſactions of that prince, erected his ſtatue in the temple of Delphi, and acknowledged, by a ſolemn decree, the kingdom of Macedon as the principal member of the Hellenic body [85]. Philip at the ſame time appointed deputies to preſide at the Pythian games, the celebration of which was nearly approaching, and to which moſt of the Grecian ſtates had already ſent their repreſentatives. The Athenians, ſtung with indignation and regret, abſtained from this feſtival. An embaſſy was therefore diſpatched to them in the name of the Amphictyons, requiring their concurrence with meaſures recently embraced by the general council of Greece; and remonſtrating againſt their diſpleaſure at the aggrandiſement of a prince with whom they had ſo lately contracted an alliance.

84 Demoſthen. & Æſchin. de falſa Legat. ſect. 20. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 60.

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Even the Athenians admit this pretenſion.

The deliberations of the Athenian aſſembly, on this occaſion, ſhewed the full extent of their own folly, and evinced the conſummate policy of Philip. They acknowledged, with dejection and anguiſh, that they had neglected the many opportunities preſented them by the favour of Heaven, for repreſſing the ambition of their rival; that the time of acting, with vigour and boldneſs, was now no more; that the cauſe of Greece was an empty name, ſince the Greeks ſurrendered their dignity to the king of Macedon; and that it became their own republic to conſult rather its ſafety than its honour, and to maintain peace with a monarch againſt whom they were by no means prepared to wage war. Even Demoſthenes[86] recommended this reſolution; leſt, ſays he, we ſhould offend thoſe now aſſembled, who call themſelves the Amphictyons, and thus excite a general war againſt ourſelves. The Thebans, beſide ancient cauſes of quarrel with us, are incenſed at our harbouring their exiles; the Locrians and Theſſalians reſent our protecting the Phocians; the Argives, the Meſſenians, and Megalopolitans, are diſpleaſed at our concurring with the views of Lacedæmon. If we refuſe the demands of Philip and the Amphictyons, they may aſſault us with the combined arms of all thoſe ſtates, which we are totally unable to reſiſt. One point, therefore, is neceſſary, the continuance of the preſent peace; not that it is ſo very excellent, or ſo worthy of you; but, of what kind ſoever it may be, it were more for the intereſt of

[86] Demoſthen. de Pace.

your

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your affairs, that it never had been concluded, than that now, when it is concluded, you ſhould infringe it. This opinion was univerſally approved: Macedon was acknowledged a member of the Grecian confederacy; and Iſocrates, an Athenian of the higheſt merit and reputation, addreſſed a diſcourſe to Philip, in which he exhorted him to diſdain inglorious victories over his countrymen and friends, to employ his authority to extinguiſh, for ever, the animoſities of Greece, and to direct the united efforts of that country, of which Macedon now formed a part, againſt the wealth and effeminacy of Perſia, its ancient and natural enemy[87].

Whether theſe exhortations proceeded from the virtuous ſimplicity which did not ſuſpect, or from the inſinuating and artful policy which, though it ſuſpected, hoped to prevent, the hoſtile projects[88] of Macedon, the meaſures of Philip were, doubtleſs, taken with too much care, and his plans founded too deep and firm, to be ſhaken by the ſpecious eloquence of a rhetorician. He had long meditated the invaſion of Aſia; the conqueſt of the Perſian empire was an object that might well tempt his ambition; but neither his own paſſions, nor the arguments of other men, could haſten, retard, or vary his undeviating progreſs in a ſyſtem which could only be completed by conſolidating his ancient, before he attempted new conqueſts.

[87] Iſocrat. Orat. Philipp.

[88] See the life of Iſocrates, prefixed to my tranſlation of his works.

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Foundation of Philippopolis and Cabyla.—Philip's Expedition to Illyria.—Alexander receives the Perſian Ambaſſadors.—Affairs of Greece.—Demoſthenes unmaſks the Deſigns of Philip's Expedition to the Peloponneſus—to Epirus—to Thrace.—Diopeithes oppoſes him with Vigour.—The Athenians recover Eubœa.—Siege of Perinthus.—Philip's Letter to the Athenians.—Expedition of Chares—of Phocion—who retrieves the Athenian Affairs in Thrace.—Philip's Scythian Expedition.—The Incendiary Antiphon.—Philip's Intrigues embroil the Affairs of Greece.—The third Sacred War.—Philip General of the Amphictyons.—Confederacy againſt that Prince.—He ſeizes Elatæa.—Battle of Chæronæa.—His Moderation in Victory.—Demoſthenes's Oration in Honour of the Slain.

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Philip evacuates Greece; Olymp. cviii. 4. A.C. 345.

BY his intrigues Philip had obtained more important advantages, than he could have gained by a long ſeries of victories. The conqueſt of Greece was his object; he had taken many preliminary meaſures towards effecting this purpoſe; while his conduct, ſo far from exciting the jealouſy of thoſe fierce republics, acquired their admiration and gratitude. Inſtead of rouſing the dangerous reſentment of a nation whom he was ambitious to ſubdue,

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ſubdue, Philip diſarmed the hoſtility of Athens, and threatened with the vengeance of combined Greece, the only republic that appeared forward to obſtruct his deſigns. It ſeemed high time, therefore, to withdraw his army; to ſet bounds, for the preſent, to his own triumphs; nor to attempt, with danger, effecting by premature force, what might be ſafely accompliſhed by ſeaſonable policy. Before evacuating Greece, he took care to place a ſtrong garriſon in Nicæa, which might thenceforth ſecure his free paſſage through the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Macedonian troops occupied the principal cities of Theſſaly, and the ſtrongeſt poſts of Phocis. He conducted with him into Macedon eleven thouſand Phocian captives; an acquiſition which he regarded as not the leaſt valuable fruits of his ſucceſs; and of which, on his return home, he determined immediately to avail himſelf.

founds Philippopolis and Cabyla;

The warlike tribes of Thrace, though often vanquiſhed, had never been thoroughly ſubdued. In order to bridle the dangerous fury of thoſe northern barbarians, Philip built two cities, Philippopolis and Cabyla[1], the firſt at the weſtern extremity of the country, on the confines of mount Rhodopé, the ſecond towards the eaſt, at the foot of mount Hæmus, above an hundred and fifty miles diſtant from each other, and almoſt equally remote from the Macedonian capital. The Phocian captives, blended with a due proportion of

[1] Strabo, l. vii. p. 318.

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Macedonian ſubjects, well provided with arms for their defence, were ſent to people and cultivate thoſe new ſettlements, whoſe flouriſhing condition ſoon exceeded the expectation of their founder. At the ſame time, Philip planted a colony in the iſle of Thaſos, which had formerly belonged to the Athenians; but that people having already loſt poſſeſſion of the gold mines at Philippi, on the neighbouring coaſt of Thrace, ſeemed now ſo indifferent about the poſſeſſion of Thaſos, that their tranſports were employed in conveying the Macedonians thither[a].

plants a colony in the iſle of Thaſos.

In ſuch occupations, chiefly, Philip employed the firſt year of the peace, not neglecting to complete the ornaments of his capital; for which purpoſe he borrowed, as formerly, large ſums of money from the richeſt citizens of Greece. The year following, he made an expedition into Illyria, and, at the expence of that country, extended his dominions from the lake Lychnidus to the Ionian ſea. This diſtrict, about ſixty miles in breadth, was barbarous and uncultivated, but contained valuable ſalt-mines, which had occaſioned a bloody war between two neighbouring tribes. While Philip was abſent in Illyria, an embaſſy arrived from Ochus, king of Perſia, who, alarmed by the magnificent reports of the growing greatneſs of Macedon, ſent the moſt truſty of his miniſters, who, under pretence of offering to Philip the friendſhip and alliance of the great king, might examine

His expedition to Illyria; Olymp. cix. 1. A.C. 344.

[a] Demoſth. de Haloneſo.

with

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with their own eyes the ſtrength and reſources of a monarch, which were repreſented as ſo formidable.

during which his ſon Alexander receives the Perſian ambaſſadors.

In the abſence of his father, the young Alexander did the honours of the court; and it is ſaid, that during an entertainment given to the Perſian ambaſſadors, the prince, who had not yet reached his twelfth year, diſcovered ſuch manly and premature wiſdom, as already announced the dawn of a very extraordinary character[3]. Among other queſtions, that could not have been expected from his age, he enquired into the nature of the Perſian government and art of war; the genius and diſpoſition of the reigning ſovereign; the diſtance of his capital from the coaſt, and the difficulty of the intervening roads[4]. Such inquiries, whatever talents they announced in the young prince, ſeem to prove that the conqueſt of Perſia had been a frequent ſubject of converſation between Alexander and his inſtructors; and that an unbounded ambition had already taken poſſeſſion of his youthful mind. The ambaſſadors heard him with aſtoniſhment, and exclaimed with that freedom which ſo

3 Plutarch (in Alexand.) expreſſes himſelf ſtrongly on this ſubject: "ὡστε ἐκεινους (the ambaſſadors) θαυμαζειν, και την λεγομενην Φιλιππου διανοητα μηδεν ἡγεισθαι προς την του παιδος ὁρμην και μεγαλοπραγμοσυνην."—Read μεγαλοψυχιαν, and then the ſentence may be literally explained; "So that the ambaſſadors wondered, and thought nothing of the famed abilities of Philip, compared with the ſpirit and magnanimity of his ſon." I recollect not having met with μεγαλοπραγμοσυνη in the writers of the Socratic age; but it is a good word to mark the character of a perſon "who buſies himſelf about great objects."

4 Plutarch in Alexand.

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wonderfully diſtinguiſhes the public tranſactions of ancient, from thoſe of modern times, "Ours is a rich and powerful, but this will be truly a wiſe and great king[5]."

Philip's tranſactions in Theſſaly, Eubœa, and Megara. Olymp. cix. 1. A.C. 344.

Philip had no ſooner returned from Illyria, than he made an excurſion to Theſſaly, and finally ſettled the affairs of that diſtracted country; having taken on himſelf the whole management of the revenue, and having divided the territory into four ſeparate governments, in order to weaken the force of oppoſition, and to render the whole province more patient and ſubmiſſive under the dominion of Macedon[6]. While Philip was thus employed in Theſſaly, his agents were not leſs active in confirming the Macedonian authority in the iſle of Eubœa. Nor was he ſatisfied with ſecuring his former acquiſitions; he aſpired at new conqueſts. The barren and rocky territory of Megara, divided, by an extent of only ten miles, the frontier of Bœotia from the iſthmus of Corinth. The induſtrious and frugal ſimplicity of this little republic could not defend its virtue againſt the corrupt influence of the Macedonian[7]. Philip gained a party in Megara, which he cultivated with peculiar care; becauſe, being already maſter of

5 I have uſed a little freedom with the words of Plutarch, ὡς ὁ παις ὑτος βασιλευς μεγας· ὁ δε ἡμετερος πλουσιος. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

6 Demoſth. Philipp. iii.

7 Demoſthen. de falſa Legatione, & Philipp. iii. In Philipp. iv. he ſpeaks as if Philip had made ſome open attempt againſt Megara, in which he had failed: ταυτης (ſcil. Ευβοιας) ολιγωρουμενης, Μεγαρα ἑαλω παραμικρον, p. 54.

Bœotia.

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Bœotia, Phocis and Theſſaly, the narrow territory of the Megarians formed the chief obſtacle to his free paſſage into the Peloponneſus, the affairs of which, at this juncture, particularly deſerved his attention.

Philip prepares to protect the inferior communities of the Peloponneſus againſt the oppreſſions of Sparta.

The Lacedæmonians, repulſed by Philip, whom they had condeſcended to ſolicit, rejected by the Phocians, whom they offered to aſſiſt, and having loſt all hopes of obtaining the guardianſhip of the Delphic temple, totally deſerted a ſcene of action, in which they could expect neither profit nor honour, and confined their politics and their arms within the narrow circle of their own peninſula. For almoſt two years, Archidamus had laboured with undivided attention, and with his uſual addreſs and activity, to extend the pretenſions and the power of Sparta over the territories of Meſſené, Argos, and Arcadia. His meaſures, planned with prudence, and conducted with vigour, were attended with ſucceſs, though the inhabitants of the dependent provinces bore with much regret and indignation the yoke of a republic, which they had formerly ſpurned as oppreſſive and intolerable. Their murmurs and diſcontents were inflamed into hoſtility by the Thebans, the eternal enemies of Sparta, and, at that time, cloſely allied with the king of Macedon. To this monarch the Thebans applied, requeſting him not to permit the deſtruction of their confederates in the Peloponneſus. The intrigues and money of Philip had already gained him a conſiderable influence in that coun-

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try, which he was glad of an opportunity to increaſe. To juſtify his proceedings for this purpoſe, he procured a decree of the Amphictyonic council, requiring him to check the inſolence of Sparta, and to protect the defenceleſs communities which had ſo often been the victims of her tyranny and cruelty. Encouraged by this reſolution of the Amphictyons, and impelled by his own ambition, Philip ſent troops and money into the Peloponneſus, and prepared to march thither in perſon, at the head of a powerful army[8].

The Corinthians prepare to interrupt his march.

Theſe tranſactions excited new commotions and alarms throughout moſt countries of Greece. The Corinthians[9], jealous of the power of a prince, who, at the cloſe of the Phocian war, deprived them of their ancient prerogatives and honours, and who, ſtill more recently, had taken poſſeſſion of Leucas, a city in Acarnania, and of Ambracia in Epirus, both colonies of Corinth, determined to oppoſe his paſſage into the Peloponneſus. Weapons and defenſive armour were provided, the walls and fortifications were repaired, mercenary troops were levied, the citizens exerciſed in arms, the whole republic glowed with the ardour of military preparation; inſomuch that Diogenes the Cynic, who loſt no opportunity to deride the follies of his contemporaries, beholding with juſt contempt the hurry and vain buſtle of the effeminate Corinthians, that ſeemed ſo ill calculated to contend with the active vigour of Philip, began to roll

8 Demoſth. de Pace. 9 Lucian de Conſcribend. Hiſtor.

roll about his tub[10], leſt he ſhould be the only perſon unemployed in ſo buſy a city.

Negociations in Athens.

The Lacedæmonians, meanwhile, not leſs alarmed, but always better prepared for war, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Athens. The latter ſtate had received a conſiderable acceſſion of ſtrength, as well as of juſt honour and reſpect, from its hoſpitable reception of the diſtreſſed exiles from Phocis and Bœotia. It derived new conſideration and luſtre from the general congreſs of ambaſſadors from Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Argos, Meſſené, and Arcadia, who, after a long interval of time, again condeſcended to aſſert their reſpective claims before the Athenian aſſembly. The Lacedæmonians repreſented the league, formed againſt themſelves, as alike dangerous to Athens and to Sparta; that the ambition of Philip would not reſt ſatisfied with a partial conqueſt; his imagination already graſped the dominion of Greece; and now was the only time for the two leading republics, who had ever mutually aſſiſted each other in ſeaſons of calamity, to make a firm ſtand, and to exert their utmoſt vigour in defence of their own and the public ſafety, ſo ſhamefully abandoned by the Thebans, and by the mob of Peloponneſus[11]. The Thebans joined with the miniſters of Philip in calling on the Athenians to adhere ſtrictly to

[10] Auct. apud Brucker. in Vit. Diogen. That learned writer has collected all that is written for and againſt the tub of Diogenes. Were authors leſs explicit, the moveable habitation of [illegible] her would be ſufficiently atteſted by ancient monu[illegible] Winckelmann, d'Hancarville, &c.

[11] Ὑγρὸς Πελοποννησου. Iſocrat. in Archidam.

their

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their treaty of peace recently concluded with that prince; they endeavoured, by art and ſophiſtry, to varniſh or to palliate ſuch deeds of fraud or violence as could not be altogether denied; and laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to ſeparate the views and intereſts of Athens and Lacedæmon on this important emergency. The ambaſſadors of the inferior ſtates of Peloponneſus loudly complained, that the Athenians, who affected to be the patrons of liberty, ſhould favour the views of Sparta, which had ſo long been the ſcourge of Greece. They repreſented this conduct as not only unjuſt and cruel, but contradictory and abſurd; and uſed many plauſible arguments to deter the people of Athens, who ſtill ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the freedom of Bœotia, from taking ſuch a part in the preſent quarrel as might tend to rivet the chains of Peloponneſus.

Artful repreſentations of the Macedonian partiſans in Athens.

The Athenian orators, many of them creatures of Philip, exhorted their countrymen not to break too haſtily with a prince with whom they had ſo recently concluded an alliance, nor imprudently renew a bloody and deſtructive war, out of which they had been lately extricated with ſo much difficulty. They obſerved, that although the meaſures of Philip, ſince the concluſion of the peace, had indeed been more agreeable to the Thebans than to the Athenians, he had conſidered himſelf as bound in juſtice to chaſtiſe the ſacrilege of the Phocians. Nor was he altogether at liberty to follow his own inclinations; ſurrounded by the Theſſalian cavalry and the Theban infantry, he

was

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was compelled to treat the enemies of thoſe ſtates with a ſeverity which his own feelings diſapproved. But the time was arrived when he might act with more independence and dignity; and that, could any credit be given to report, he was already preparing to rebuild the ruined cities of Phocis, and to fortify Elatæa, on the frontier of that territory, by which means he might thenceforth reſtrain and bridle the inſolent cruelty of Thebes. Theſe obſervations, however improbable, received great force from the peaceful, or rather indolent diſpoſition of the people, who, though they heard with pleaſure thoſe who magnified their ancient grandeur, and inveighed againſt the injuſtice and ambition of Philip, were averſe to employ either their money, or their perſonal ſervice, in ſuch active meaſures as could alone ſet bounds to the Macedonian encroachments.

Anſwered by Demoſthenes.

Demoſthenes, laſt, aroſe, and pronounced a diſcourſe, which the king of Macedon is ſaid to have read with a mixture of terror and admiration[12]. "When you hear deſcribed, men of Athens! the continual hoſtilities by which Philip violates the peace, I obſerve that you approve the equity and patriotiſm of thoſe who ſupport the rights of the republic: but while nothing is done, on account of which it is worth while to liſten to ſuch ſpeeches, our affairs are brought to ſuch a paſs, that the more clearly we convict Philip of perfidy towards you, and of hoſtile deſigns againſt

[12] Plut. in Vit. Demoſth. in lib. de Dec. Orator.

Greece,

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Greece, the more difficult it is to propoſe any ſeaſonable advice. The cauſe of this difficulty is, that the encroachments of ambition muſt be repelled, not by words, but by deeds. If ſpeeches and reaſonings ſufficed, we ſhould long ere now have prevailed over our adverſary. But Philip excels in actions as much as we do in arguments; and both of us obtain the ſuperiority in what forms reſpectively the chief object of our ſtudy and concern; we in our aſſemblies, Philip in the field.

He explains the meaſures, and points out the dangerous deſigns, of Philip.

"Immediately after the peace, the king of Macedon became maſter of Phocis and Thermopylæ, and made ſuch an uſe of theſe acquiſitions as ſuited the intereſt of *Thebes*, not of *Athens*. Upon what principle did he act thus? Becauſe, governed in all his proceedings, not by the love of peace or juſtice, but by an inſatiable luſt of power, he ſaw the impoſſibility of bending the Athenians to his ſelfiſh and tyrannical purpoſes. He knew that the loftineſs of their character would never ſtoop to private conſiderations, but prefer to any advantage that he might offer them, the dictates of juſtice and of honour; and that neither their penetration, nor their dignity, could ever be prevailed on to ſacrifice to a partial and temporary intereſt, the general ſafety of Greece; but that they would fight for each member of the confederacy with the ſame ardour as for their own walls. The Thebans he judged (and he judged aright) to be more aſſailable; he knew their folly and their meanneſs to be ſuch, that provided he heaped benefits on themſelves, they would aſſiſt him to enſlave their neigh-

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neighbours. Upon the ſame principle he now cultivates, in preference to yours, the friendſhip of the Meſſenians and Argives; a circumſtance, Athenians! which highly redounds to your honour, ſince Philip thus declares his perſuaſion, that you alone have wiſdom to underſtand, and virtue to oppoſe, his deſigns; that you foreſee the drift of all his negociations and wars, and are determined to be the incorruptible defenders of the common cauſe. Nor is it without good grounds that he entertains ſuch an honourable opinion of you, and the contrary of the Thebans and Argives. When the liberties of Greece were threatened by Perſia, as they now are by Macedon, the Thebans baſely followed the ſtandard of the invaders; the Argives did not oppoſe their arms; while the magnanimous patriots, from whom you are deſcended, ſpurned offers, highly advantageous, made them by Alexander of Macedon, the anceſtor of Philip, who acted as the ambaſſador of Perſia; and, preferring the public intereſt to their own, provoked the devaſtation of their territory, and the deſtruction of their capital, and performed, in defence of Greece, thoſe unrivalled exploits of heroiſm which can never be celebrated with due praiſe. For ſuch reaſons, Philip chooſes for his allies, Thebes, Argos, and Meſſené, rather than Athens and Sparta. The former ſtates poſſeſs not greater ſtrength, wealth, fleets, harbours, and armies; they have not more *power*, but leſs *virtue*. Nor can Philip plead the merits of their cauſe; ſince, if Chæronæa and Orchomenus are juſtly ſubject to Thebes, Argos and Meſſené are juſtly ſubject to Lacedæmon;

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mon; nor could it be equitable to enſlave the inferior cities of Bœotia, and at the ſame time to teach thoſe of Peloponneſus to rebel.

"But Philip was compelled to this conduct (for this is the only remaining argument that can be alleged in his defence). 'Surrounded by the Theſſalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was obliged to aſſiſt allies whom he diſtruſted, and to concur with meaſures which he diſapproved. Hence the ſevere treatment of Phocis, hence the cruel ſervitude of Orchomenus and Chæronæa. The king of Macedon, being now at liberty to conſult the dictates of his own humanity and juſtice, is deſirous to re-eſtabliſh the republic of Phocis; and, in order to bridle the inſolence of Thebes, actually meditates the fortifying of Elatæa.' This, indeed, he meditates, and will meditate long. But he does not *meditate* the deſtruction of Lacedæmon. For this purpoſe he has remitted money, he has ſent his mercenaries, he is prepared, himſelf, to march at the head of a powerful army. His preſent tranſactions ſufficiently explain the motives of his paſt conduct. It is evident that he acts from ſyſtem, and that his principal batteries are erected againſt Athens itſelf. How can it be otherwiſe? He is ambitious to rule Greece; you alone are able to thwart his meaſures. He has long treated you unworthily; and he is conſcious of his injuſtice. He is actually contriving your deſtruction, and he is ſenſible that you ſee through his deſigns. For all theſe reaſons he knows that you deteſt him, and that ſhould he not anticipate your hoſtility, he muſt fall a victim to your juſt

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juſt vengeance. Hence he is ever active and alert, watching a favourable moment of aſſault, and practiſing on the ſtupidity and ſelfiſhneſs of the Thebans and Peloponneſians; for if they were not ſtupid and blind, they might perceive the fatal aim of the Macedonian policy. I once ſpoke[a] on this ſubject before the Meſſenians and Argives; my diſcourſe, which was uſeleſs to them, may, perhaps, not unſeaſonably be repeated to you. "Men of Argos and Meſſené! you remember the time when Philip careſſed the Olynthians, as he now does you: how highly, do you think, that infatuated people would have been offended, had any man talked againſt the benefactor, who had generouſly beſtowed on them Anthemus and Potidæa? Had any man warned them againſt the dangerous artifices of Philip, would they have liſtened to his advice? Yet, after enjoying for a moment the territories of their neighbours, they were for ever deſpoiled of their own. Inglorious was their fall; not conquered only, but betrayed and ſold by one another. Turn your eyes to the Theſſalians. When Philip expelled their tyrants, could the Theſſalians ever conjecture that the ſame prince would ſubject them to the creatures of Macedon, ſtill more tyrannical and oppreſſive? When he reſtored them to their ſeat and ſuffrage in the Amphictyonic council, could they have been perſuaded that he would one day deprive them of the management of their own revenues? As to you, Meſſenians and Argives! you have beheld Philip

[a] During his embaſſy to Peloponneſus, mentioned above.

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ſmiling and deceiving; but beware! pray to Heaven, that you may never behold him inſulting, threatening, and deſtroying. Various are the contrivances which communities have diſcovered for their defence; walls, ramparts, battlements, all of which are raiſed by the labour of man, and ſupported by continual expence and toil. But there is one common bulwark, which only the prudent employ, though alike uſeful to all, eſpecially to free cities againſt tyrants. What is that? Diſtruſt. Of this be mindful; to this adhere; preſerve this carefully, and no calamity can befal you[14]."

Impeachment of Æſchines and Philocrates.

Demoſthenes then read to the aſſembly the ſchedule of an anſwer, which he adviſed to be given to the ambaſſadors, and which was entirely favourable to the Lacedæmonians. At the ſame time he exhorted his countrymen to deliberate with firmneſs, yet with temper, on the means by which they might reſiſt the common enemy; "an enemy with whom he had exhorted them to maintain peace, as long as *that* ſeemed poſſible; but peace was no longer in their power; Philip gradually carried on a vaſt ſyſtem of hoſtile ambition, diſmembering their poſſeſſions, debauching their allies, paring their dominions all around, that he might at length attack the centre, unguarded and defenceleſs." Had the orator ſtopped here, his advice might have been followed with ſome uſeful conſequences. But in declaiming againſt the encroachments of Macedon, his reſentment was n[illegible]

[14] Demoſthen. Orat. ii. in Philipp.

tutrall[illegible]

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turally inflamed againſt Philocrates, Æſchines, and their aſſociates, whoſe perfidious intrigues and machinations had produced the public danger and diſgrace. He ſtrongly recommended to the injured people to impeach, condemn, and conſign to due puniſhment thoſe deteſtable traitors. This counſel was not given in vain to the litigious Athenians, who were better pleaſed to attend the courts of juſtice at home, than to march into the Peloponneſus. The city reſounded with the noiſe of trials and accuſations. Philocrates was baniſhed [15], and Æſchines nearly eſcaped the ſame fate, by expoſing the profligate life of his accuſer Timarchus [16].

Philip ſettles the affairs of the Peloponneſus.

Philip, meanwhile, unoppoſed and unobſerved by his enemies, was ſailing with a powerful armament towards Cape Tenarus, the moſt ſouthern promontory of Laconia. Having landed there without oppoſition, he was joined by the Meſſenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army, after ravaging the moſt valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories, beſieged and took Trinaſus, a maritime city of conſiderable ſtrength and importance. The terror occaſioned among the Spartans by theſe misfortunes, was heightened by extraordinary meteors in the air, whoſe unuſual redneſs ſeemed to preſage ſome dreadful calamity [17]. The alarm was ſo general, that it has been thought worth while to record the ſaying of a Spartan youth, who remained unmoved amidſt the public

[15] Æſchin. in Cteſiphon.
[16] Argum. in Æſchin. Orat. in Timarch.
[17] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. ii. c. xxxvi.

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conſternation. Being aſked, "Whether he was not afraid of Philip?" "Why," replied the generous youth, "ſhould I fear him? he cannot hinder me from dying for my country[18]." But this manly reſolution no longer animated the great body of the Spartan nation. Unable to meet the invader in the field, they ſent Agis, the ſon of king Archidamus, to propoſe terms of accommodation, or rather to ſubmit their whole fortune to the diſpoſal of the Macedonians. The young prince coming alone and unattended, Philip expreſſed his ſurpriſe. "What, have the Spartans ſent but one!" "Am I not ſent to one?" was the manly reply of Agis[19]. This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; for the king of Macedon, though unwilling to provoke the deſpair of a people, whoſe degenerate virtue might yet be animated by the inſtitutions of Lycurgus and the example of Leonidas, compelled them to reſign their pretended authority over Argos, Meſſené, and Arcadia; and ſettled the boundaries of thoſe republics in a manner highly agreeable to the wiſhes of his confederates. Before leaving the Peloponneſus, he ſolemnly renewed his engagements to protect them; and, in return, only required, on their part, that the magiſtracy in Argos ſhould be entruſted to Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnaſias; in Arcadia, to Cercidas, Hieronymus, and Eucampidas; in Meſſené, to Neon and Thraſylochus, the ſons of Iphiades; men whoſe names would merit eternal oblivion, if Demoſ-

[18] Frontin. l. iv. c. v. [19] Plut. Apophth.

thenes

thenes juſtly branded them as traitors[20]; but a more impartial, and not leſs judicious writer[21], aſſerts, that by early eſpouſing the intereſt of Philip, they acquired many important advantages for their reſpective communities; that their ſagacity having foreſeen the final prevalence of the Macedonian power and policy over the weakneſs and folly of Greece, they acted wiſely in courting the riſing fortune of a prince, who was, at length, enabled to take complete vengeance on his enemies; a vengeance which the Peloponneſians eſcaped by their own prudence and foreſight, and from which the Athenians, after long provoking it, were finally delivered by the love of glory and magnanimity, which regulated the conduct, and adorned the victory, of Philip.

Philip publicly inſulted at Corinth;

Having ſettled the affairs of Peloponneſus, the king of Macedon marched through that country amidſt the acclamations of the people, who vied with each other in beſtowing crowns and ſtatues, the uſual marks of public gratitude and admiration, on a prince who had generouſly reſcued them from the cruel yoke of Sparta. At Corinth he paſſed ſome days in the houſe of Demaratus, a man totally devoted to his ſervice; and aſſiſted at the games and ſpectacles, which were celebrated in that city, by an immenſe concourſe of people from the neighbouring republics. The turbulent

20 Παρα γαρ τοις ἑλλησιν, ȣ τισι, αλλα πασιν ὁμοιως, φοραν προδοπων και δωροδοκων και θεοις εχθρων ανθρωπων, συνεβη γενεσθαι, ὁσην ȣδεις πω προτερον μεμνηται γεγονυιαν. Theſe traitors are named in Philipp. iii. & in Orat. de Corona.

21 Polyb. iii. 72.

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Corinthians, who, beſides their innate hatred of kings, had particular cauſes of animoſity againſt Philip, did not conceal their ſentiments; and their inhoſpitable inſolence was abetted by many Peloponneſians, who profited of the liberty of the place, and of the occaſion, to teſtify their rooted averſion to the king of Macedon, and their unwillingneſs to owe their freedom and their ſafety to the interpoſition of a foreign tyrant. Philip was ſtrongly urged by his courtiers to puniſh their ingratitude; but he knew how to digeſt an affront[22], when forgiveneſs was more uſeful than vengeance; and repreſſed the unſeaſonable indignation of his attendants by obſerving, with admirable patience, "Were I to act with *ſeverity*, what muſt I expect from men, who repay even *kindneſs* with inſult[23]?"

his moderation.

Philip proceeded from Corinth by the neareſt route into Macedon, where he continued the remainder of that year, directing the improvements that were carrying on in his kingdom, and inſpecting with particular care the education of his ſon Alexander, whoſe capacious and fervid mind, like a rich and luxuriant ſoil, producing promiſcuouſly flowers and weeds, ſtrongly required the hand of early culture[24]. But theſe uſeful occupations did not divert his attention from the politics of neighbouring ſtates. He extended the boundaries of Epirus, then governed by his brother-

Philip extends the boundaries of Epirus, and ſeizes the Halonneſus. Olymp. cix. 1. A.C. 344.

[22] Longinus has preſerved the expreſſion of Theopompus, "that Philip could eaſily ſwallow affronts."

[23] Plut. in Alexand. [24] Plut. ibid.

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in-law Alexander, the moſt faithful and devoted of his vaſſals, by adding to that little principality the province of Caſſiopœa, which was chiefly inhabited by Elian colonies. At the ſame time he exerciſed his fleet by wreſting Halonneſus, an iſland near the coaſt of Theſſaly, from the hands of corſairs, and kept poſſeſſion of his conqueſt, without paying any regard to the claim of the Athenians, the ancient and lawful proprietors of the iſland [25].

Settles the commotions in Thrace, and protects the Cardians. Olymp. cix. 2. A. C. 343.

Next year Philip was ſummoned into Upper Thrace by a rebellion of the petty princes in that country, fomented by Amadocus king of the Odryſians. The warlike tribes of that great nation, acting with little concert or union, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; and the dexterity of the king of Macedon ſeconding his uſual good fortune, he ſoon ranked the moſt obſtinate of his enemies in the number of his vaſſals or courtiers [26]. At his return from the inhoſpitable wilds of Thrace, he received into his protection the city and republic of Cardia, occupying the neck of land which joins the Thracian Cherſoneſus to the continent. The reſt of the peninſula had long been ſubject to the Athenians, whoſe authority the citizens of Cardia always ſet at defiance. The Athenians had lately ſtrengthened the Cherſoneſites by a new colony, which had continual diſputes with the Cardians about the extent of their boundaries. Matters had actually come to a criſis, and the Cardians were ready to be overwhelmed by the ſtrength and

[25] Demoſth. Orat. de Halon. [26] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 464.

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numbers of the enemy, when they were ſeaſonably defended by the Macedonian arms[27].

Theſe meaſures rouſe the Athenians from their lethargy.

The ſeizing of Halonneſus, the conquering Grecian colonies for the tyrant of Epirus, above all, the open aſſiſtance given to their inveterate enemies, the Cardians, once more rouſed the Athenians from their lethargy. Theſe freſh inſults brought back to their recollection the ancient grounds of animoſity, and the manifold injuries which they had ſuffered ſince the concluſion of the peace with Macedon. But inſtead of oppoſing Philip with arms, the only means by which he might yet be reſiſted with any hope of ſucceſs, they employed the impotent defence of ſpeeches, reſolutions, and embaſſies. Their complaints were loud and violent in every country of Greece. They called the attention of the whole confederacy to the formidable encroachments of a Barbarian, to which there ſeemed no end; and exhorted the Greeks to unite in repreſſing his inſolent uſurpation[28].

Philip diſpatches Python of Byzantium with a letter to that people.

Philip, who then agitated ſchemes from which he wiſhed not to be diverted by a war with the Athenians, ſent proper agents throughout Greece, to counteract the inflammatory remonſtrances of that people; and diſpatched to Athens itſelf, Python of Byzantium, a man of a daring and vigorous mind; but who concealed, under that paſſionate vehemence of language which ſeems to ariſe

[27] Demoſthen. Orat. de Halon. p. 34. & Plut. in Vit. Eumen.
[28] Demoſthen. de Cherſoneſo, p. 35, & ſeqq.

from

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from conviction and ſincerity, a mercenary ſpirit, and a perfidious heart. Python had long ago ſold himſelf, and, as far as depended on himſelf, the intereſt of his country, to the king of Macedon, from whom he now conveyed a letter to the ſenate and people of Athens, written with that ſpecious moderation and artful plauſibility, which Philip knew ſo well to aſſume in all his tranſactions. "He offered to make a preſent to the Athenians of the iſland of Halonneſus, and invited them to join with him in purging the ſea of pirates: he intreated them to refer to impartial arbitrators all the differences that had long ſubſiſted between the two nations, and to concert amicably together ſuch commercial regulations as would tend greatly to the advantage of both. He denied that they could produce any proof of that duplicity on his part, of which they ſo loudly complained. That for himſelf, he was ready not only to terminate all diſputes with them by a fair arbitration, but to compel the Cardians to abide by the award; and he concluded, by exhorting them to diſtruſt thoſe deſigning and turbulent demagogues, whoſe ſelfiſh ambition longed to embroil the two countries, and involve them in the horrors of war[29]."

Its contents.

The ſubtle artifices of Philip, though ſupported on this occaſion by the impetuous eloquence of Python, were overcome by Hegeſippus and Demoſthenes, who refuted the various articles of the letter with great ſtrength and perſpicuity, and unveiled the injuſtice of Philip with ſuch force of

Diopeithes, the Athenian general in Thrace, acts rigorouſly againſt Philip.

[29] Demoſthen. ſeu Hegeſipp. de Halon. p. 33, & ſeqq.

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evidence, that the Athenians reſolved upon ſending a conſiderable armament to the Cherſoneſus, to protect their ſubjects in that peninſula[30]. Diopeithes, who commanded the expedition, was a determined enemy to the Macedonians, and a man of courage and enterpriſe. Before he arrived in the Cherſoneſus, Philip, truſting to the effect of his letter and intrigues, had returned into Upper Thrace. Diopeithes availed himſelf of this opportunity to act with vigour. Having provided for the defence of the Athenian ſettlements in Thrace, he made an incurſion into the neighbouring country, ſtormed the Macedonian ſettlements at Crobylé and Tiriſtaſis; and having carried off many priſoners, and a conſiderable booty, lodged them in the ſafe retreat of the Cherſoneſus. On this emergency, Amphilochus, a Macedonian of rank, was ſent as ambaſſador, to treat of the ranſom of priſoners; but Diopeithes, regardleſs of this character, ever held ſacred in Greece, caſt him in priſon, the more ſurely to widen the breach between Athens and Macedon; and, if poſſible, to render it irreparable. With equal ſeverity he treated a herald, whom he had taken in his late excurſion, charged with letters from Philip; which were ſent to Athens, and read in full aſſembly[31].

The partiſans of Philip cabal to ruin Diopeithes.

The king of Macedon, when informed of theſe hoſtilities and inſults, gave free ſcope to his complaints and threats; and his emiſſaries had an

30 Demoſthen. ſeu Hegeſipp. de Halon. p. 33, & ſeqq.

31 Epiſtol. Philipp. & Liban. Argum. in Demoſthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſo.

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eaſier game at Athens, as Diopeithes had not only violated the peace with Macedon, but, in order to maintain his troops, which were very ſparingly ſupplied by the republic, levied conſiderable contributions from the Greek ſettlements in Aſia. The partiſans of Macedon inveighed againſt this commander as a robber and pirate, the common enemy of Greeks and Barbarians; Philip's letters demanded vengeance from the juſtice of Athens, if not, he would be his own avenger; the perſonal enemies of Diopeithes joined in the outcry, and inſiſted, that ſuch a daring offender ought immediately to be recalled, and puniſhed for his miſconduct[31].

He is powerfully defended by Demoſthenes.

On this occaſion Demoſthenes undertook to defend the accuſed general, whoſe meaſures he warmly approved; and motives of private friendſhip heightening the ardour of patriotiſm, render his diſcourſe on the affairs of the Cherſoneſus one of the moſt animated and intereſting of his productions. The impeachment of Diopeithes he aſcribes entirely to malice or perfidy, which had been too ſucceſsfully employed to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the main object of their concern, the continual encroachments of Philip, to unjuſt complaints and calumnies againſt their fellow-citizens. Diopeithes, if really criminal, might be recalled, and puniſhed whenever they thought proper. A ſimple mandate from the republic could, at any time, reduce *him* to his duty. But

[31] Demoſthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſo.

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Philip, the public enemy, who was continually infringing the peace, who, before the expedition of Diopeithes, had oppreſſed the Cherſoneſites, had ſtormed Serrium and Doriſcus, how was Philip to be reſtrained, unleſs they repelled force by force? Inſtead of recalling their troops from the Cherſoneſus on the remonſtrance of a crafty tyrant, who would not acknowledge himſelf at war with them, till he aſſaulted the walls of Athens, they ought to exert their utmoſt ability in augmenting the army in that quarter. Should their forces be withdrawn, Philip would wait the approach of winter, or the ſetting in of the Eteſian winds, to fall on the Cherſoneſus. Will it then be ſufficient to accuſe Diopeithes? Or will this ſave our allies? "O, but we will ſail to their relief." But if the winds will not permit you? Even ſhould our enemy attack, not the Cherſoneſus, but Megara or Chalcis, as he lately did Oreum, would it not be better to oppoſe him in Thrace, than to carry the war to the frontiers of Attica? The exactions demanded by Diopeithes from the Aſiatic Greeks are juſtified by the example of all his predeceſſors, who, according to the ſtrength of their reſpective armaments, have always levied proportional contributions from the colonies; and the people who grant this money, whether more or leſs, do not give it for nothing. It is the price for which they are furniſhed with convoys to protect their trading veſſels from rapine and piracy. If Diopeithes had not that reſource, how could he ſubſiſt his troops? he who receives nothing from you, and who has nothing

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nothing of his own? From the ſkies? No; but from what he can collect, and beg, and borrow. Who does not perceive that this pretended concern for the colonies, in men who have no concern for their country, is one of the many artifices employed to confine and fix you to the city, while the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war at pleaſure? That ſuch traitors ſhould exiſt, is leſs ſurpriſing than that you ſhould patiently receive from them ſuch counſels, as Philip himſelf would dictate. For what elſe could the king of Macedon, who underſtands his own intereſt ſo well, adviſe, but that you ſhould remain quietly at home, decline perſonal ſervice in the war, deny pay to your ſoldiers, revile and inſult your general? When a man, hired to betray you, riſes up in the aſſembly, and declares Chares or Diopeithes to be the cauſe of your calamities, ſuch an hypocrite is heard with ſatisfaction. You deſpiſe the voice of him, who, animated by a ſincere love for his country, calls out, "Be not deceived, Athenians! Philip is the real cauſe of all your misfortunes and diſgrace." The diſagreeable truth renders the man who declares it odious; for the inſidious diſcipline of certain miniſters has ſo changed your principles and characters, that you are become fierce and formidable in your courts of juſtice, but tame and contemptible in the field. You rejoice, therefore, to hear your diſtreſs charged on thoſe whom you can puniſh at home; but are unwilling to believe that it proceeds from a public enemy, whom you muſt oppoſe with arms in your hands. Yet,

Athe-

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Athenians, if the ſtates of Greece ſhould thus call you to account for your conduct: "Men of Athens, you are continually ſending embaſſies to aſſure us, that Philip is projecting *our* ruin, and *that* of all the Greeks. But O, moſt wretched of mankind! when this common foe was detained ſix months abroad by ſickneſs, the ſeverity of winter, and the armies of his enemies, did you profit by that opportunity to recover your loſt poſſeſſions? Did you reſtore even Eubœa to liberty, and expel thoſe troops and tyrants who had been placed there in ambuſh, and directly oppoſite to Attica? No. You have remained inſenſible to your wrongs, and fully convinced us, that were Philip ten times to die, it would not inſpire you with the leaſt degree of vigour. Why then theſe embaſſies, theſe accuſations, all this unneceſſary ferment!" If the Greeks ſhould aſk this, what could we anſwer? I know not.

"There are men who think to perplex a well-intentioned ſpeaker by aſking, What ought we to do? My anſwer is ſincere, None of thoſe things which you do at preſent. I explain my opinion at greater length, and may you be as ready to receive, as to aſk, advice! Firſt of all, you muſt hold it as a matter of firm belief, that Philip has broken the peace, and is at war with your republic: that he is an enemy to your city, to the ground on which it ſtands, to all thoſe who inhabit it, and not leaſt to ſuch as are moſt diſtinguiſhed by his favours.

The

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The fate of Euthycrates and Laſthenes[33], citizens of Olynthus, may teach *our* traitors the deſtruction that awaits them, after they have ſurrendered their country. But, though an enemy to your city, your ſoil, and your people, Philip is chiefly hoſtile to your government, which, though ill fitted to acquire, or to maintain, dominion over others, is admirably adapted to defend both yourſelves and them, to repel uſurpation, and to humble tyrants. To your democracy, therefore, Philip is an unrelenting foe, a truth, of which you ought to be deeply perſuaded; and next, that wherever you repreſs his encroachments, you act for the ſafety of Athens, againſt which, chiefly, all his batteries are erected. For who can be ſo fooliſh as to believe, that the cottages of Thrace (Drongila, Cabyla, and Maſtira), ſhould form an object worthy of his ambition; that, in order to acquire them, he ſhould ſubmit to toils and dangers; that, for the ſake of the rye and millet of Thrace, he ſhould conſent to ſpend ſo many months amidſt winter ſnows and tempeſts; while, at the ſame time, he diſregarded the riches and ſplendour of Athens, your harbours, arſenals, gallies, mines, and revenues? No, Athenians. It is to get poſſeſſion of Athens, that he makes war in Thrace and elſewhere. What then ought we to do? Tear yourſelves from our indolence; not only ſupport, but augment, the troops which are on foot; that, as

[33] See above, c. xxxv.

Philip

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Philip has an army ever ready to attack and conquer the Greeks, you alſo may be ready to ſuccour and to ſave them [34]."

Demoſthenes ventures not to propoſe the war in form.

It is worthy of obſervation (becauſe nothing betrays more evidently the tyrannical ſpirit of democracy), that Demoſthenes does not propoſe the war in form, by bringing in a written bill or decree, to be approved or rejected by the votes of his countrymen. This decree muſt have been recorded among the Athenian archives; and, if the war ſhould prove unfortunate, might be produced at ſome future time for the deſtruction of its author, whoſe enemies would not fail to allege this inſtrument as a proof that he had occaſioned the rupture with Philip, and all the calamities conſequent on that meaſure. The party accuſed would, in that caſe, vainly endeavour to ſhelter himſelf under the votes of the aſſembly, ſince an ordinary court of juſtice could call him to account for miſleading the people [35], and puniſh him with baniſhment or death. Demoſthenes artfully glances at this diſagreeable ſubject: "Raſh, impudent, and audacious, I neither am, Athenians, nor wiſh ever to become; yet poſſeſs more true fortitude than the boldeſt of your demagogues, who, capriciouſly diſtributing honours and largeſſes on the one hand, and as capriciouſly impeaching, condemning, and confiſcating on the other, have, in either caſe, a ſure pledge of impunity in the flat-

34 Demoſthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſ. p. 35, & ſeqq.

35 By the γραφη παρανομων. Vide Demoſth. de Coron. paſſim.

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tery and artifices by which they have long ſeduced the public. The courage of that miniſter is put to an eaſy trial, who is ever ready to ſacrifice your permanent intereſt to your preſent pleaſure. But he is truly courageous, who, for the ſake of your ſafety and glory, oppoſes your moſt favourite inclinations, rouſes you from your dream of pleaſure, diſdains to flatter you, and having the good of his country ever in view, aſſumes that poſt in the adminiſtration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himſelf reſponſible for the iſſue. Such a miniſter am I, whoſe unpopular counſels tend to render, not myſelf, but my country great."

The Athenians oppoſe the common enemy with ſpirit by ſea and land.

The arguments and remonſtrances of Demoſthenes not only ſaved Diopeithes, but animated the Athenians with a degree of vigour[36] which they had been long unaccuſtomed to exert. A fleet was fitted out under the command of Callias, who ſeized all Macedonian ſhips as lawful prize, and made a deſcent on the coaſt of Theſſaly, after plundering the harbours in the Pelaſgic gulph. A conſiderable body of forces was ſent into Acarnania to repel the incurſions of Philip, aſſiſted by his kinſman and ally, Alexander of Epirus. The inhabitants of the iſland of Peperathus, truſting to the protection of Athens, expelled the Macedonian garriſon from Halonneſus. Repeated embaſſies were diſpatched to the Peloponneſians and Eubœans, exhorting them to throw off the ignominious yoke of Macedon, and to unite

[36] Vid. Epiſt. Philip.

with

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with their Grecian brethren againſt the public enemy. Philip was not unattentive to theſe commotions, but his deſigns againſt the valuable cities on the Propontis and Thracian Boſphorus [37] being ripe for execution, he was unwilling to allow any ſecondary conſideration to divert him from that important enterpriſe.

Philip attempts to get poſſeſſion of Byzantium and Perinthus. Olymp. cix. 3. A.C. 342.

His intrigues and bribery had gained a conſiderable party in Byzantium, at the head of which was the perfidious Python, whoſe vehement eloquence gave him great influence with the multitude. A conſpiracy was formed to ſurrender one of the gates of the city; the Macedonian army of thirty thouſand men hovered round; but the deſign was ſuſpected or diſcovered, and Philip, to ſcreen his partiſans from public vengeance, ſeaſonably withdrew his army, and inveſted the neighbouring city of Perinthus. The news of theſe tranſactions not only increaſed the activity of Athens, but alarmed Ochus king of Perſia, who being no ſtranger to Philip's deſign of invading his dominions, trembled at beholding that ambitious prince gradually approach his frontier. To prevent this danger, Ochus adopted the ſame policy, which, in ſimilar circumſtances, had been ſucceſsfully employed by his predeceſſors [38]. The Perſian gold was profuſely ſcattered among the moſt eminent of the Grecian demagogues. Demoſthenes, whoſe patriotiſm was not alway proof

[37] Demoſth. de Coron. & Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxii.
[38] Plut. in Alexand.

againſt

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againſt an unworthy alliance[39] with intereſt, rejoiced at being paid for doing what he conſidered as his duty. At Athens his invectives were louder than ever againſt the king of Macedon; and the affairs of Eubœa gave him an opportunity of exerting himſelf with equal zeal in that iſland.

The Athenians recover Eubœa.

The factious ſpirit of the Eubœans rendered them alike incapable of independence, and of remaining quietly under the government either of Athens or Macedon, to which they were alternately ſubject. The recent prevalence of the Macedonian party had been marked by many acts of violence and oppreſſion. The cities of Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria, prepared to rebel, having previouſly ſolicited aſſiſtance from Peloponneſus, Acarnania, Attica, and every province of Greece, which they had any reaſon to deem favourable to their views. From other ſtates they brought back promiſes and hopes; from Athens they obtained, chiefly by the influence of Demoſthenes, a conſiderable body of troops commanded by the brave and virtuous Phocion. The orator accompanied the expedition; and being allowed to addreſs the popular aſſemblies in moſt of the cities of Eubœa, he inflamed them with ſuch animoſity againſt Philip and his partiſans, that little remained to be done by the valour of the Athenian general. The Eubœans every where took arms in defence of their freedom, the Macedonian garriſons were expelled from the principal cities, and driven from one poſt to another, till they were compelled entirely

[39] Plut. in Demoſth.

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The merit of Demoſthenes acknowledged on this occaſion.

to evacuate the iſland. This event occaſioned great joy at Athens; and the principal merit was aſcribed to Demoſthenes, who, at the motion of Ariſtonicus, a man of merit and eminence, was crowned by the ſenate and people with a golden crown; which honour was publicly proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the repreſentation of the new tragedies, amidſt an immenſe concourſe of people, citizens and ſtrangers [40].

Circumſtances which enabled the Perinthians to make an obſtinate defence. Olymp. cix. 4. A. C. 341.

The loſs of Eubœa was ill compenſated to Philip by the military operations againſt Perinthus, in which he found an enemy worthy of his courage and perſeverance. The town was ſituated on the ſloping ridge of an iſthmus, and ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature, the houſes and ſtreets riſing one above another like the ſeats of an amphitheatre, ſo that the higher edifices overlooked and defended the lower. Having ſcoured the neighbouring country with his cavalry, Philip exhauſted, in the ſiege of Perinthus, all the military ſkill known to the ancients. He raiſed towers forty cubits high, which enabled his men to fight on equal ground with the beſieged; his miners were buſy at the foundation; at length the battering rams advanced to the wall, in which a conſiderable breach was made. During this time, however, the townſmen had not been idle. The ſuperior diſcharge of darts, arrows, and every kind of miſſile weapon, from the Macedonian towers, had indeed diſlodged the Perinthians from

[40] Demoſth. de Coron. & Plut. in Demoſth.

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thoſe parts of the wall and battlements, againſt which the principal attack had been directed. But with inceſſant toil, the beſieged built a new wall within the former, on which they appeared in battle array, prepared to repel the enemy who entered the breaches[41]. The Macedonians, who advanced with impetuous joy to reap the fruits of their labour, were infinitely mortified to find that their work muſt be begun anew. Philip employed rewards and puniſhments, and all the reſources of his mind, fertile in expedients, to reſtore their hopes, and to reanimate their activity. The ſiege recommenced with freſh ardour, and the Perinthians were thrice reduced to extremity, when they were unexpectedly ſaved, firſt by a large ſupply of arms and proviſions from Byzantium; next by a ſtrong reinforcement of men in Perſian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens; and laſtly, by the advantageous ſituation of the town, which, being built in a conical form, preſenting its apex or narrow point to the beſiegers, gradually roſe and widened towards the remoter parts, from which it was eaſy to obſerve all the motions of the enemy, and to overwhelm them with miſſile weapons as they advanced to the charge. Philip, ever ſparing of the lives of his men, was deterred by this circumſtance from venturing an aſſault, though his machines had effected a breach in the new wall: he therefore determined to change the ſiege into a blockade. Perinthus was ſhut up

[41] Diodor. p. 466, & ſeqq.

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as cloſely as poſſible by ſea and land: part of the Macedonian troops who had become mutinous for want of pay (for Philip at this time owed above two hundred talents, or forty thouſand pounds ſterling), were indulged in plundering the rich territory of Byzantium, while the remainder were conducted to the ſiege of Selymbria, and ſoon after of Byzantium itſelf, the taking of which places, it was hoped, might compenſate their loſt labour at Perinthus [42].

The Thracian cities, ſupported by numerous allies, reſiſt the arms of Philip.

During the military operations againſt the cities of the Propontis, Demoſthenes did not ceaſe exhorting his countrymen to undertake their defence, as eſſential to their own ſafety. The hoſtilities and devaſtations of Philip, he repreſented as the periodical returns of the peſtilence and other contagious diſorders, in which all men were alike threatened with their reſpective ſhares of calamity. He, who was actually ſound and untainted, had an equal intereſt with the diſeaſed and infirm, to root out the common evil, which, if allowed to lurk in any part, would ſpeedily pervade and afflict the whole. The Macedonians now beſieged Selymbria and Byzantium; if ſucceſsful in theſe enterpriſes, they would ſoon appear before Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. Yet he knew not by what fatality the Greeks looked on the ſucceſſive encroachments of Philip, not as events which their vigorous and united oppoſition might ward off and repel, but as diſaſters inflicted by the hand of Providence; as a

[42] Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xxii.

tempeſt

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tempeſtuous cloud of hail, ſo deſtructive to the vines in autumn, which all beheld, with horror, hovering over them, but none took any other means to prevent, than by deprecating the gods that it might not fall on his own fields [43]. Theſe animated and juſt repreſentations of the common diſtreſs or danger, engaged the Athenians to enter into a cloſe correſpondence with the beſieged cities [44]. Demoſthenes undertook a journey to Byzantium; and Leon, a Byzantine orator and patriot, the friend and fellow-ſtudent of the virtuous Phocion, reſided as ambaſſador in Athens. At the ſame time the principal cities of the Propontis maintained an uninterrupted intercourſe of good offices with each other, as well as with their allies of Rhodes and Chios, from whom they received repeated ſupplies of arms and proviſions.

Philip attacks and defeats Diopeithes, and juſtifies his conduct to the Athenians.

Philip, meanwhile, ceaſed not to aſſure the Athenians, by his letters and emiſſaries, that he was extremely deſirous of maintaining peace with the republic, and gently chid them for their evident marks of partiality towards his enemies, which, however, he took care to aſcribe, not to the general temper and diſpoſition of the people,

43 Αλλα ὁμως ταυτ' ορωντες οἱ ἑλληνες ανεχονται· και των αυτον τροπον, ονπερ οἱ την χαλαζαν, εμοιγε δοκουσι θεωρειν· ευχομενοι μη καθ' ἑαυτους εκαστοι γενεσθαι, κωλυειν δε ουδεις επιχειρων. Demoſt. in Philip. iii. p. 48. In the country where I now write (the Païs de Vaud) the beauty and force of this compariſon is too well underſtood. Lofty mountains covered with ſnow, ſunny hills, and fertile vallies.—Such too is the geography of Greece, which rendered the hail-ſtorms ſo alarming and ſo deſtructive.

44 Demoſthen. de Corona.

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but to the prevalence of a dangerous faction, inflamed by ſeditious and ſelfiſh demagogues. By a rapid march he had recently ſurpriſed an Athenian detachment ravaging the territory of Cardia. Diopeithes, the Athenian general in the Cherſoneſus, commanded this predatory band, who, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, were repelled with the loſs of their leader, ſlain by a dart, while he rallied his men with his voice and arm. Philip failed not, by letter, to excuſe this act of hoſtility, to which, he aſſured the Athenians, that he had been compelled, much againſt his inclination: he affected to conſider Diopeithes as the inſtrument of a malignant faction, headed by Demoſthenes, rather than as the general of the republic; and as that commander had acted unwarrantably in plundering the Cardians, a people ſtrictly allied with Macedon, Philip aſſured himſelf that the ſenate and people would not take it amiſs that, provoked by repeated injuries, he had at length repelled violence, and defended the lives and fortunes of his long-injured confederates.

Philip's admiral ſeizes an Athenian convoy deſtined for the relief of Selymbria.

While the Athenians and Philip were on this footing of correſpondence, the former ſent twenty veſſels laden with corn to the relief of the Selymbrians. Leodamas, who commanded this convoy, ſeems to have imagined that the treaty formerly ſubſiſting between the two powers, would protect him from injury. But in this he was diſappointed. His fleet was ſurrounded and taken by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon, and who determined to retain his prize, without pay[illegible]

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any regard to the complaints and remonſtrances of Leodamas, who pretended that the convoy was not deſtined for Selymbria, but employed in conveying the ſuperabundance of the fertile Cherſoneſus to the rocky and barren iſland of Lemnos.

Philip reſtores the captured veſſels, and writes an artful letter to the Athenians. Olymp. cix. 4. A.C. 341.

The news of the capture of their ſhips occaſioned much tumult and uneaſineſs among the Athenians. After frequent deliberations on this ſubject, a decree was framed for ſending ambaſſadors to Philip, in order to redemand their property, and to require that Amyntas, if he had exceeded his inſtructions, ſhould be puniſhed with due ſeverity. Cephiſophon, Democritus, and Polycrates, who were named for this commiſſion, repaired without delay to Philip in the Helleſpont, who, at their requeſt, immediately releaſed the captured veſſels, and diſmiſſed the Athenians with the following letter: "Philip king of Macedon, to the ſenate and people of Athens, Health. I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambaſſadors, who have conferred with me about the releaſe of certain ſhips, commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but admire their ſimplicity in thinking to perſuade me that theſe ſhips were intended to convey corn from the Cherſoneſus to the iſle of Lemnos, and not deſtined for the relief of the Selymbrians, actually beſieged by me, and nowiſe included in the treaty of pacification between Athens and Macedon. This unjuſt commiſſion Leodamas received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magiſtrates, and others now in private ſtations, who are too buſy in urging you to violate

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your engagements, and to commence hoſtilities againſt me; a matter which they have more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive advantage from ſuch a rupture. Deeply perſuaded that our mutual intereſt requires us to fruſtrate their wicked ſchemes, I have given orders to releaſe the captured veſſels; and do you, in return, remove ſuch pernicious counſellors from the adminiſtration of your affairs; and let them feel the ſeverity of your juſtice. On my part, I ſhall endeavour to preſerve inviolate the treaty, by which we ſtand mutually engaged [45]."

Demoſthenes perſuades the Athenians to ſuccour the beſieged cities in Thrace.

The moderate and friendly ſentiments expreſſed in this letter afforded great advantage to the Macedonian partiſans at Athens. But Demoſthenes, and Leon of Byzantium, ſpared no pains to detect and expoſe the artifices and duplicity of Philip, who employed this humble and peaceful tone, during his operations againſt the cities of the Propontis, in order to ſtifle the reſentment of the Athenians, at a criſis when they might act againſt him with peculiar advantage. In elaborate and powerful orations [46], in which, without urging any new matter, Demoſthenes condenſed, invigorated, and enlivened his former obſervations and reaſonings, he convinced his countrymen of the expediency of being for once before-hand with their enemy, and of anticipating his deſigns againſt themſelves by a ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance to their diſtreſſed

[45] Epiſt. Philip. in Demoſth.

[46] Orat. iv. in Philip. & Orat. de Epiſt. Philip.

brethren

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brethren of Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium. By his convincing eloquence the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthuſiaſm which had not appeared in them during many years, and which produced the laſt tranſitory glimpſe of ſucceſs and ſplendour, before the glory of Athens was extinguiſhed for ever.

Diſhonourable expedition of Chares. Olymp. cx. 1. A. C. 340.

It was decreed by the ſenate and people, to fit out a fleet of an hundred and twenty gallies; but unfortunately the command was given to Chares, whoſe character rendered him as contemptible to the enemies, as he was formidable to the allies, of the republic. The Byzantines excluded him from their harbour, and he was defeated by Amyntas, the Macedonian admiral, off the oppoſite ſhore of Chalcedon. This diſaſter, which was chiefly occaſioned by the incapacity of their commander, made the Athenians caſt their eyes on Phocion [47], who, though ever ready to ſerve his country, was moſt frequently called for in times of danger and calamity.

Philip fails in his attempt to ſurpriſe Byzantium.

Before Phocion reached the Propontis, Philip, flushed with his naval ſucceſs, made an attempt to ſtorm Byzantium. That city was environed on three ſides by the ſea, and defended on the fourth by a ſtrong wall, and a large and deep trench, covered by lofty towers, ſeparated at ſmall intervals from each other. Confident in the ſtrength of the place and the abundance of their magazines, the inhabitants of Byzantium, without riſking a ſally, allowed Philip to carry on his works, and gradual-

47 Plutarch in Phocion.

ly

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ly to make his approaches to their walls. During this inaction of the townſmen, Philip carefully advanced his battering engines, and ſeemed determined to aſſault the walls; but, meanwhile, embraced proper meaſures for gaining the place by ſurpriſe. For executing this deſign, he choſe the gloom of a tempeſtuous night; a determined band of Macedonians paſſed the ditch; the ſcaling-ladders were already fixed; when the centinels of Byzantium were alarmed by the barking of maſtiffs, kept in the towers even in time of peace, to ſecure them in the night. The alarm ſpread with rapidity among the ſeveral guards, who ruſhing tumultuouſly from their reſpective ſtations, as if the enemy had been already maſters of the town, were on the point of blindly aſſaulting each other, when a bright meteor, or repeated flaſhes of lightning, enabled them to diſtinguiſh their friends, and to diſcern the danger. Having formed in ſome degree of order, they advanced againſt the Macedonians, who had already gained the rampart, from which they were with difficulty repulſed by ſuperior numbers [43].

The Athenians, commanded by Phocion, ſave the Thracian cities; Olymp. cx. 1. A.C. 340.

The defeat of this bold and dangerous enterpriſe did not diſcourage Philip from carrying on his operations with indefatigable diligence and vigour. His perſeverance muſt finally have prevailed over the obſtinacy of the beſieged, had not the Athenian fleet, under Phocion, arrived in the Thracian Boſphorus. The Byzantines received

[43] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 468.

him with open arms, expecting that under ſuch a commander, their auxiliaries would prove not leſs modeſt and inoffenſive in their quarters, than active and intrepid in the field. Nor were their hopes diſappointed; the arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by ſimilar addreſs; nor could he expect by force or fraud to gain any advantage over an opponent alike brave and vigilant[49]. The king of Macedon, who had as much flexibility in varying his meaſures, as firmneſs in adhering to his purpoſes, was unwilling any farther to preſs his bad fortune. In the actual ſtate of his affairs, he judged it neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege of Byzantium, to withdraw his forces from Selymbria and Perinthus, and to leave the Athenians in poſſeſſion of the northern ſhore of the Propontis. Theſe were humiliating reſolutions; but fortunately for Philip, an event fell out, which prevented the execution of them from reflecting much diſcredit on his arms or policy.

and ravage the Macedonian territories.

Phocion, to whoſe conduct the ſafety of ſo many important cities was principally owing, ſailed from Byzantium amidſt the grateful vows and acclamations of innumerable ſpectators. In his voyage to the Cherſoneſus, he captured a fleet of victuallers and tranſports, carrying arms and proviſions for the enemy. When he arrived in that peninſula, he repreſſed the inſolence of the Cardians, who, reinforced by a Macedonian garriſon, had recently undertaken an expedition againſt the city of Seſtos. He recovered ſeveral places on the

49 Plut. in Phocion.

coaſt

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coaſt of Thrace, which had reluctantly ſubmitted to the dominion of the Macedonians; and, in concert with the inhabitants, took ſuch meaſures as ſeemed moſt proper to protect the Athenian allies in thoſe parts, from future danger. Inſtead of burdening the confederates with the maintenance of his army, he plentifully ſupplied all the wants of his ſoldiers from the enemy's country. He commanded in perſon the parties that went out to forage and to plunder; and in one of thoſe expeditions, received a dangerous wound, yet did not embark for his return, until he had ſpread the terror of the Athenian name, by ravaging with fire and ſword the hereditary dominions of Philip[50].

Extraordinary honours conferred on the Athenians and Phocion, by the cities which they had relieved.

The meritorious ſervices of Phocion were deeply felt and acknowledged by the communities whom he had protected and relieved[51]. The deliverance and gratitude of the Cherſoneſus, of Perinthus, and of Byzantium, were teſtified by crowns, ſtatues, inſcriptions, and altars; and are ſtill recorded in an oration of Demoſthenes[52], which has deſervedly ſurvived thoſe periſhing monuments of gold and marble. The decree of the Byzantines and Perinthians, after deſcribing the ancient and recent benefits conferred on them by Athens, enacted, "that, in return for thoſe favours, the Athenians ſhould be entitled to the right of intermarriage, the privilege of purchaſing lands in their territories, the freedom of their reſpective

50 Plut. in Phocion. & Diodor. ubi ſupra.
51 Idem,
52 Demoſthen. de Corona.

cities,

cities, and the firſt and moſt honourable place in all their entertainments and aſſemblies: That whatever Athenians choſe to reſide with them ſhould be exempted from taxes: And that, further, three ſtatues, each ſixteen cubits high, ſhould be erected in the port of Byzantium, repreſenting the republic of Athens, crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians: That this crown ſhould be proclaimed at the four principal feſtivals of Greece, in order to commemorate the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians." The inhabitants of the Cherſoneſus were not leſs forward in their acknowledgments and rewards. After a ſimilar preamble, ſetting forth the manifold favours of their great and generous allies, they reſolved to crown the ſenate and people of Athens with a golden crown worth ſixty talents; and to conſecrate an altar to Gratitude and the Athenians. Theſe public and ſolemn honours afforded matter of equal triumph to Phocion, who had executed, and to Demoſthenes, who had adviſed, the meaſures, in conſequence of which ſuch juſt glory had been acquired. At the diſtance of ſeveral years, the orator ſtill boaſted of this important ſervice. "You have frequently, Athenians! rewarded with crowns the ſtateſmen moſt ſucceſsful in conducting your affairs. But name, if you can, any other counſellor, any other ſtateſman, by whoſe means the ſtate itſelf hath been thus honoured [53]."

[53] Demoſth. de Coron.

The

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Atheas king of Scythia invites Philip to aſſiſt him againſt the Iſtrians.

The circumſtance which enabled Philip to elude the violence of the ſtorm with which the hoſtility of Athens, Perſia, and ſo many other powers, had been long preparing to overwhelm him, took its riſe from an error of judgment, occaſioned by that boundleſs ambition which formed the ruling paſſion of the Macedonian prince. Beyond the confines of Thrace, and beyond the northern frontier of the Lower Mœſia, dwelt a powerful Scythian tribe, in the valuable peninſula contained between the weſtern waves of the Euxine and the majeſtic ſtream of the Danube. The roving and unſettled life of the Scythians, like that of their deſcendants the Tartars, had led them into this country, from their native and proper territories, embracing the ſix mouths of the Danube or Iſter, the banks of the Boriſthenes, and the ſhores of the Palus Mœotis, which diſtricts in ancient times were named Little Scythia[54], and are ſtill called Little Tartary[55]. A monarch leſs warlike and leſs ambitious than Philip, might have obſerved, with indignation and regret, thoſe fierce and rapacious Barbarians, extending themſelves beyond their natural limits, and enjoying an eſtabliſhment to the ſouth of the Danube; which great river, as he was already maſter of Thrace, and counted the Triballi of Mœſia among the number of his tributaries, Philip's proud and uſurping fancy had already graſped as the frontier of his empire, and the proper line of ſeparation between barbarous and civilized

54 Herodotus & Strabo, paſſim.

55 Geograph. de D'Anville,

nations.

nations. It was not, therefore, without ſuch exceſs of joy as tranſported him beyond the bounds of ſound policy, that, amidſt his preparations againſt the cities on the Propontis, he received an invitation from Atheas[56], who ſtyled himſelf king of the Scythians, to march to his aſſiſtance, and to defend his dominions, conſiſting in the peninſula above mentioned, againſt an invaſion of the Iſtrians, which the domeſtic forces of Atheas were totally unable to reſiſt. To this propoſal was added a condition extremely alluring to the king of Macedon, that if his auxiliary arms enabled Atheas to vanquiſh and expel the invaders, Philip ſhould be named heir to the *kingdom* of Scythia; for, according to the faſhion of ancient times, Atheas dignified with the name of kingdom, a territory little larger than the principality of Wales.

Perfidy and inſolence of that Barbarian.

In greedily ſnatching this bait laid for his ambition, Philip was not enough on his guard againſt the uſual perfidy and levity of Barbarians; nor did he ſufficiently conſider, that by ſending a powerful detachment into Scythia, he muſt greatly weaken his exertions againſt the cities of the Propontis. With an ardour and alacrity too rapid for reflection, he eagerly cloſed with the propoſitions of Atheas, ſent a great body of forces to the north, and promiſed to aſſiſt them in perſon at the head of his whole army, ſhould they encounter any difficulty in the execution of their purpoſe. Meanwhile the warlike chief of the Iſtrians, whoſe courage alone animated, and whoſe conduct ren-

[56] Juſtin. l. ix. c. ii.

dered

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dered ſucceſsful, the arms of his followers, was cut off by ſudden death: the diſpirited Iſtrians were attacked, defeated, and repelled; and, without the aſſiſtance of Macedon, Atheas once more regained poſſeſſion of his kingdom. This unexpected revolution ſerved to diſplay the crafty and faithleſs Barbarian in his genuine deformity. The Macedonian troops were received coldly, treated with contempt, and abſolutely denied their ſtipulated pay and ſubſiſtence. Their juſt remonſtrances and complaints Atheas heard with ſcorn, and totally diſavowed the propoſitions and promiſes of thoſe who ſtyled themſelves his ambaſſadors; obſerving "how unlikely it was, that he ſhould have ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Macedonians, who, brave as they were, could fight only with men, while the Scythians could combat cold and famine; and that it would have been ſtill more unnatural to appoint Philip his ſucceſſor, ſince he had a ſon of his own, worthy to inherit his crown and dignity[57]."

Philip remonſtrates with him in vain.

Upon receiving an account of the inſolent behaviour of a prince who had ſo recently ſolicited his alliance, Philip, while ſtill buſily, but unſucceſsfully, employed againſt the cities of the Propontis, ſent an embaſſy to Scythia, requiring Atheas to ſatisfy the juſt demands of the Macedonian troops, and to indemnify himſelf for the expence incurred in his defence. The ambaſſadors found the king of Scythia in his ſtable, currying his horſe. When they teſtified ſurpriſe at

57 Juſtin. l. ix. c. 2.

ſeeing

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ſeeing him engaged in ſuch an occupation, he aſked them, Whether their maſter did not often employ himſelf in the ſame manner? adding, that for his own part, in time of peace, he made not any diſtinction between himſelf and his groom. When they opened their commiſſion, and explained the demands of Philip, the ſubtle Barbarian told them, that the poverty of Scythia could not furniſh a preſent becoming the greatneſs of their maſter; and that, therefore, it ſeemed more handſome to offer nothing at all, than to ſend a preſent totally unworthy of his acceptance [57].

Philip determines to chaſtiſe his ingratitude and perfidy.

This evaſive and mortifying anſwer being brought to the king of Macedon when foiled and haraſſed, yet not diſheartened, by his unproſperous expedition againſt Byzantium, furniſhed him with a very honourable pretence for raiſing the ſiege of that place, and conducting a powerful army into Scythia, that he might chaſtiſe the treacherous ingratitude of a prince, who, after having overreached him by policy, now mocked him with inſolence. Having advanced to the frontier of Atheas's dominions, Philip had recourſe to his uſual arts, and ſent a herald with the enſigns of peace and friendſhip, to announce his arrival in Scythia, in order to perform a ſolemn vow which he had made during the ſiege of Byzantium, to erect a brazen ſtatue to Hercules on the banks of the Danube. The cunning Atheas was not the dupe of this artifice, which he knew how to encounter and elude with ſimilar addreſs. Without

57 Juſtin. l. ix. c. ii.

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praiſing or blaming the pious intention of the king, he coolly deſired him to forward the ſtatue, which he himſelf would take care to erect in the appointed place; that ſhould it be ſet up with his concurrence and direction, it would probably be allowed to ſtand; otherwiſe, he could give no aſſurance that the Scythians would not pull it down, and melt it, to make points for their weapons[58].

Succeſs of his Scythian expedition.

The return of the Macedonian herald gave the ſignal for hoſtility. Philip entered the country with fire and ſword, deſtroying the foreſts and paſturage, and ſeizing the ſlaves and cattle, which formed the principal wealth of the Scythians. He ſeems to have employed ſeveral weeks in an expedition, the circumſtances of which, were they eſſential to the deſign of this work, could not be related with any fulneſs or accuracy. Countries in a paſtoral ſtate are but thinly peopled; and Philip was obliged to divide his forces, in order to vanquiſh with greater rapidity the wandering hordes, ſeparated from each other by wide intervals, according as a foreſt, a meadow, or a ſtream of freſh water, obtained their preference, and fixed their temporary abode. A party of Macedonian ſoldiers beat up the quarters of a numerous and warlike clan, by which they were repelled, with the loſs of ſeveral ſlain or taken. Among the latter was Iſmenias, an eminent muſician, who had been invited by liberal rewards to reſide at the court of Philip, after being long admired in Greece for his performance on the flute. This diſtinguiſhed captive was ſent as a preſent to Atheas,

[58] Juſtin. l. ix. c. 2.

who

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who was ſo little delighted with his accompliſhments, that having heard him perform, he acknowledged the neighing of his horſe to be to his ear far more agreeable muſic. The ſkirmiſh in which Iſmenias was taken, ſeems to have been the principal advantage obtained by the Barbarians, whoſe conſtitutional courage, and impetuous ill-directed fury, was every-where overcome by the diſciplined valour of the Macedonian phalanx [59].

The nature and quantity of the booty.

Philip reaped ſuch fruits from his expedition as might be expected by a victory over a people who had no king but their general, no god but their ſword, and no cities but the ground on which they occaſionally encamped with their herds and families. The ſpoil conſiſted in arms, chariots, twenty thouſand robuſt captives, a greater number of mares deſtined to repleniſh the ſtuds of Pella [60]. We are not informed whether Philip erected the promiſed ſtatue to the great founder and protector of his family and kingdom. It is probable that he impoſed a tribute on the Scythians, as a mark of their ſubmiſſion and dependence, purpoſing to reduce them more thoroughly, when he had effected his great deſigns in Greece, to which country the ſilent operation of his intrigues now ſummoned his return.

Philip, on his return, ſurpriſed by the Triballi.

But while he marched ſouthward at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and ſpoil, a very unexpected event threatened to blaſt his laurels, and to terminate at once his glory and his

59 Juſtin. l. ii. c. 5.

60 Compar. Juſtin. l. ix. c. 2. & Strabo, p. 752.

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life. Allured by the hopes of ſharing the warlike plunder of the Scythians, the barbarous Triballi, who had been often conquered, but never thoroughly ſubdued, beſet by ambuſh, and vigorouſly aſſaulted the Macedonians, entangled amidſt the intricate windings of the mountains of Mœſia; hoping to cut off, by one ſtroke, the flower of a nation whoſe authority their own fierce ſpirit of independence had very reluctantly condeſcended to obey. The confuſion and the danger was increaſed by a mercenary band of Greeks, who, haraſſed by the fatigues of war and travelling, always clamorous for pay, which was very irregularly paid them, and perhaps jealous of the Macedonians, ſeized the preſent opportunity to deſert the ſtandard of Philip, and to reinforce the arms of the Triballi[61].

Alexander ſaves the life of his father,

The king of Macedon, too prudent to undertake ſuperfluous danger, never acquired by valour what might be obtained by ſtratagem; but when a neceſſary occaſion ſolicited his courage and his proweſs, he knew how to aſſume the hero, and (if we may tranſpoſe an ancient proverb) "to eke out the fox's with the lion's ſkin[62]." The urgency of the preſent emergence ſummoned all the firmneſs of his mind. With his voice and example he encouraged the aſtoniſhed and diſheartened Macedonians; conducted his faithful guards to the heat of the battle, and fought with unexampled bravery, till the ſame weapon which pierced

[61] Juſtin. l. ix. c. 3. Plut. in Alexand.
[62] Vid. Plut. in Lyſand.

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his horſe, laid the rider ſenſeleſs on the ground. The young Alexander, who fought near him, derived peculiar glory from ſaving the life of his father, whom he covered with his ſhield, and defended by his ſword, until his attendants conveyed him to a place of ſafety[63]; the ſon ſo worthily ſucceeding to the command, that the tumult was fortunately appeaſed, and the Barbarians routed and put to flight. Philip's wound was attended with an incurable lameneſs, which he bore with much impatience. His magnanimous ſon endeavoured to remove his anxiety by aſking, how he could be chagrined at an accident, which continually reminded him of his valour[64]?

and defeats the Triballi.

To repair the effects of this unforeſeen delay, the Macedonians haſtened through Thrace, where Philip, as he had reaſon to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, appointing him general of their forces, and requeſting him to march into Greece with all convenient ſpeed. The ſecret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary meſſage, the remote as well as immediate cauſes of which deſerve to be diſtinctly unravelled, being the laſt knot of a tragedy which involves the fate of Greece.

Philip appointed general of the Amphictyons. Olymp. cx. 2. A.C. 339.

The ſpirited reſiſtance of Selymbria and Byzantium, the ſucceſsful expeditions of Phocion in the Helleſpont and Propontis, the prodigal terrors of Ochus king of Perſia, who thought it impoſſible to

The ſituation of Philip's affairs encourages the Athe-

63 Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. & Juſtin. l. ix. c. 3.

64 Plut. in Alexand.

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nians to exert themſelves with vigour. Olymp. cx. 2. A.C. 339.

employ his wealth more uſefully than in bridling the ambition of Philip; above all, the continual expoſtulations and remonſtrances of Demoſthenes, conſpired to rouſe the Athenians from the lethargy in which they had been long ſunk, and animated them with a deſire to carry on the war with activity and effect againſt the common enemy of Greece. In order to ſave the ſtate, they conſented (though probably not without a violent ſtruggle) to aboliſh the very popular law, or rather abuſe, introduced by Eubulus. The theatrical amuſements, ſo paſſionately idoliſed by the multitude, were celebrated with leſs pomp and ſplendour; and the military fund was thenceforth applied to its original and proper deſtination. A fleet was equipped far ſuperior to the naval ſtrength of Macedon[65]. The troops and partiſans of that kingdom were driven from their ambuſhes in Megara, and in the neighbouring territories, where they had long watched an opportunity of deſtroying the liberty of Athens. Demoſthenes, and Hyperides, an orator ſecond only to Demoſthenes, were diſpatched into the Peloponneſus and other parts of Greece, to perſuade the ſeveral republics to ſecond the generous ardour of the Athenians, whoſe recent ſucceſs under Phocion added great weight to the arguments and eloquence of thoſe illuſtrious ſtateſmen[66].

Difficulties with which Philip had to ſtruggle.

Philip was accurately informed of all thoſe tranſactions; and the alarm univerſally ſpread among his faithful emiſſaries, inclined them rather to exaggerate, than to conceal, the danger. Highly

[65] Demoſthen. de Corona. [66] Idem, ibid.

provoked

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provoked againſt the Athenians, the continual oppoſers of his greatneſs, he was unable to retaliate their injuries. If he attacked them by land, he muſt march through the territories of the Thebans and Theſſalians, who, ever ſelfiſh and capricious, would be ready to forſake him on the firſt reverſe of fortune. His diſgraceful expedition againſt the cities of the Propontis, rendered the preſent juncture extremely unfavourable to ſuch a hazardous deſign. Nor could he attempt, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, to attack the enemy by ſea, ſince the Athenian fleet ſo far exceeded his own, that it had interrupted, and almoſt totally deſtroyed, the commerce of Macedon.

His intrigues with the incendiary Antiphon;

Amidſt this complication of difficulties, Philip ſhewed how well he underſtood the unſteady temper of the Greeks, by raiſing the ſiege of Byzantium, and burying himſelf in the wilds of Scythia, till the fuming animoſity of his adverſaries had time to evaporate. Not venturing on open hoſtility, he, meanwhile, employed two ſecret engines, which continued to work during his abſence, and from which he had reaſon to expect very ſignal advantages before his return. There lived at Athens a man of the name of Antiphon, bold, loud, and loquacious in the popular aſſembly, in which, however, he had not a title to vote, much leſs to ſpeak, his name not being recorded in the public regiſter of the city. This defect paſſed long unobſerved, through that ſupine negligence with which Demoſthenes ſo frequently upbraids his countrymen. At length the treaſon of Antiphon (for the Athenians

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regarded an unqualified voter in the aſſembly as an uſurper of ſovereign power) was diſcovered, and arraigned by one of the many citizens to whom his inſolence and calumny had juſtly rendered him obnoxious; in conſequence of which impeachment, the ſuppoſititious Athenian was diveſted of his borrowed character, and driven with ignominy from a country, whoſe moſt auguſt rights and honours he had uſurped and diſgraced. Stung with diſappointment and rage, Antiphon had recourſe to the king of Macedon, and offered himſelf for any enterpriſe, however bloody or deſperate, by which, in ſerving the intereſt of Philip, he might gratify his own thirſt for vengeance. The ambitious Macedonian kept his ends too ſteadily in view, and purſued them with too much ardour and perſeverance, to be very delicate in chooſing the means by which he might diſtreſs his adverſaries. He greedily cloſed, therefore, with the propoſal of Antiphon, in whom he rejoiced to find an inſtrument ſo fit for his ſervice.

who attempts to ſet fire to the Athenian docks.

The ſuperiority of the Athenians by ſea, which their actual diligence in their docks and arſenals ſhewed them determined to maintain and increaſe, formed the chief obſtacle to the grandeur of Macedon. By whom the deſign was ſuggeſted, is unknown; but it was agreed between Philip and Antiphon, that the latter ſhould return to Athens in diſguiſe, inſinuate himſelf into the Piræus, and lie there in concealment, until he found an opportunity to ſet fire to the Athenian docks, and thus deſtroy at once the main hope of the republic.

While

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While the artful king of Macedon eluded the ſtorm of his enemies by wandering in the woods of Scythia, his perfidious accomplice lurked, like a ſerpent, in the boſom of Athens, being lodged without ſuſpicion in the harbour which glowed with the ardour of naval preparation, and into which were daily accumulated new maſſes of tar, timber, and other materials, alike proper for a fleet, and for the purpoſe of Antiphon.

The deſign detected by Demoſthenes.

But the vigilance of Demoſthenes diſcovered this deſperate deſign, when on the point of execution. He immediately flew to the Piræus, dragged Antiphon from his concealment, diveſted him of his diſguiſe, and produced him at the bar of the aſſembly. The capricious and deluded multitude, alike prone to anger and to compaſſion, were on this occaſion very differently affected from what might be conjectured. Inſtead of execrating a wretch capable of ſuch black deeds, they beheld, with pity, a man once regarded as their fellow-citizen, brought before them after a long abſence, and accuſed, perhaps on vain preſumptions, of ſuch a horrid crime. They knew beſides the wicked artifices of their orators, who, to encreaſe their own importance, often terrified the public with falſe alarms and imaginary dangers. Æſchines, and other partiſans of Philip, were at hand to ſtrengthen theſe impreſſions. They repreſented the whole tranſaction of Demoſthenes as a complication of fraud and cruelty; loudly inveighed againſt his inſolent triumph over the calamities of the unfortunate; and reproached his entering by force into the houſe where

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where Antiphon was concealed, as a violation of freedom pregnant with the moſt dangerous conſequences, and as trampling on the reſpected maxim of Athenian law and religion, that every man's houſe was his ſanctuary [67]. Such was the effect of theſe clamours, that Antiphon was diſmiſſed without the formality of a trial, and might, perhaps, have reſumed his purpoſe with more ſecurity than before, had not the ſenate of the Areopagus more carefully examined the information of Demoſthenes. By the authority of that court, the traitor was again ſeized, and tried. Torture, which the inſtitution of domeſtic ſlavery introduced and rendered familiar in Greece, extorted from him a late and reluctant confeſſion; and his enormous guilt was puniſhed with as enormous ſeverity [68].

Philip's intrigues for embroiling the affairs of Greece,

Had the deteſtable enterpriſe of Antiphon been crowned with unmerited ſucceſs, Philip would have attained his purpoſe of ruining Athens, by a rude ſtroke of vulgar perfidy. But the engines which he ſet in motion for gaining the ſame end, at a time when he was obliged to fly the awakened reſentment of Greece, and to bury in the wilds of Scythia the diſgrace ſuſtained before the walls of Byzantium, will not be eaſily matched by any parallel tranſactions in hiſtory, whether we conſider the profound artifice with which the plan was contrived and combined, the nice adaptation of the ſeveral parts, or the unwearied dexterity with which

67 Lyſias paſſim in Agorat. & Eratoſth.

68 Demoſthenes de Coron. who gives the honourable account of his own conduct deſcribed in the text.

the

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the whole was carried into execution. It is on this occaſion that Demoſthenes might juſtly exclaim, "In one circumſtance, chiefly, is Philip diſtinguiſhed above all his ambitious predeceſſors, the enemies of Grecian freedom. His meaſures required the co-operation of traitors, and traitors he has found more corrupt and more dexterous than ever appeared in any former age; and, what is moſt worthy of remark, the principal inſtruments of his ambition flouriſhed in the boſom of that ſtate, whoſe public councils moſt openly oppoſed his greatneſs [69]."

His partiſans ſent from Athens as deputies to the Amphictyons.

The time approached for convening at Delphi the vernal aſſembly of the Amphictyons. It was evidently the intereſt of the Athenians, and might have been expected from their juſt reſentment againſt Philip, that they ſhould ſend ſuch deputies to the city of Apollo, as were moſt hoſtile to the Macedonian, and moſt zealous in the cauſe of liberty and their country. But intrigue and cabal prevailed over every motive of public utility; and the negligent or factious multitude were perſuaded, at a criſis which demanded the moſt faithful and incorrupt miniſters, to employ, as their repreſentatives in the Amphictyonic council, Æſchines and Midias; the former of whom had ſo often reproached, and the latter had, on one occaſion, ſtruck Demoſthenes in the public theatre [70]; and who were both not only the declared

[69] Demoſth. de Coron.

[70] Demoſth. in Mid. & Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

enemies

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enemies of this illuſtrious patriot, but, as well as their colleagues Diognetus and Thraſicles, the warm and active partiſans of the king of Macedon. Soon after their arrival at Delphi, Midias and Diognetus[71] pretended ſickneſs, that they might allow Æſchines to diſplay, uncontrouled, his ſuperior dexterity; and to act a part, which, requiring the deepeſt diſſimulation, might be performed moſt ſucceſsfully by a ſingle traitor. The Amphictyons were employed in repairing the temple; the ſacred offerings, which had been removed and ſold by the impiety of the Phocians, were collected from every quarter of Greece; and new preſents were made by ſeveral ſtates, to ſupply the place of the old, which could not be recovered.

Who preſent a dedication to the temple highly offenſive to the Thebans.

The Athenians particularly ſignaliſed their pious munificence, and ſent, among other dedications, ſeveral golden ſhields, with the following inſcription: "Taken from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought againſt Greece." This offering, highly offenſive to the Theban deputies, was prematurely ſuſpended in the temple; the Thebans murmured, the Amphictyons liſtened to their complaints, and it was whiſpered in the council, that the Athenians deſerved puniſhment for preſenting their gift to the god, before it had been regularly conſecrated, together with the other offerings. Pretending high indignation at theſe murmurs,

[71] Æſchines ſays, Διογνητον πυρεττειν; "That Diognetus was ſeized with a fever, and that the ſame misfortune happened to Midias," p. 290.

Æſchines

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Æſchines[72] ruſhed into the aſſembly, and began a formal, yet ſpirited defence of his countrymen; whn he was rudely interrupted by a Locrian, of Amphiſſa[73], a city eight miles diſtant from Delphi, which growing populous and powerful on the ruins of Criſſa and Cirrha, had ventured to cultivate the Cirrhean plain, which, near three centuries before, had been deſolated by the Amphictyons, ſolemnly conſecrated to Apollo, and devoted to perpetual ſterility[74].

The Athenians reproached by the deputy of Amphiſſa.

The artful Locrian, affecting a religious zeal not leſs ardent than the patriotiſm of Æſchines, clamorouſly interrupted that orator, calling aloud in the aſſembly, that it ill became the dignity of the Amphictyons to hear with patience the juſtification, much leſs the praiſes of Athens, a city impious and profane, which, in defiance of human and divine laws, had ſo recently abetted the execrable ſacrilege of the Phocians; that if the Amphictyons followed his advice, or conſulted the dictates of duty and honour, they would not allow the deteſted name of the Athenians to be mentioned in that auguſt council[75].

72 Αρχομενου δε μου λεγειν, και προθυμοτερον πως εισελθοντος εις το συνεδριον. Æſchin. p. 290.

73 Æſchines variniſhes the ſtory with inimitable addreſs: αναζοησας τις των Αμφισσεων, αιθροπος ασελγεστατος, και ως εμοι εφαινετο ηδεμιας παιδειας μετεσχηκως, ισως δε και δαιμονος τινος εξαμαρτανειν αυτον προαγομενου. "He was interrupted by the vociferation of a certain Amphiſſean, a man the moſt impudent, totally illiterate, and perhaps impelled to folly by ſome offended divinity."

74 See theſe events particularly related, vol. i. c. v. p. 213.

75 Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

Æſchines

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Æſchines inveighs againſt the Locrians for cultivating the Cirrhean plain;

Æſchines thus obtained an opportunity of exciting ſuch tumults in the aſſembly as ſuited the views of Philip[76]. In the ardour of patriotic indignation, which he knew ſo well to aſſume, he poured forth a torrent of impetuous invective againſt the inſolent Locrian, and his city Amphiſſa; not only juſtified the innocence, but diſplayed with oſtentation the illuſtrious merit of the Athenians; and then addreſſing the Amphictyons with a look peculiarly earneſt and expreſſive, "Say, ye Grecians! ſhall men who never knew the exalted pleaſures of virtue and renown, be ſuffered to tear from us the ineſtimable rewards of glory ſo juſtly earned[77]? Shall men, themſelves polluted by ſacrilege, and already devoted to deſtruction by the moſt awful imprecations, preſume to call the Athenians profane and impious? Look down, ye reverend guardians of religion! look down on that plain (pointing to the Cirrhean plain, which might be ſeen from the temple), behold theſe lands anciently devoted to the god, but now appropriated and cultivated by the Amphiſſeans; behold the numerous

76 Demoſthen. de Corona.

77 The perſuaſive energy with which Æſchines defends his treachery, or rather diſplays his patriotiſm, on this occaſion, is not excelled by any thing in Demoſthenes himſelf. Had the works of the latter periſhed, the two orations of Æſchines (de falſa Legatione, and in Ctesiphont.) would have juſtly been regarded as the moſt perfect models of eloquence produced by human genius. But the works, and even the name of Æſchines, are eclipſed in the fame of his rival. So diſproportionate are the rewards of acting a firſt and a ſecond part, and ſo juſt the poet's advice to all candidates for fame:

Αιεν αριστευειν κ) υπειροχον εμμεναι αλλων.

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buildings which they have erected there, and that accurſed port of Cirrha, juſtly demoliſhed by our anceſtors, now rebuilt and fortified." Æſchines here read the oracle of Apollo, which condemned that harbour and thoſe lands to perpetual deſolation. Then proceeding with increaſed vehemence: "For myſelf, ye Grecians! I ſwear, that I myſelf, my children, my country, will diſcharge our duty to heaven; and, with all the powers and faculties of mind and body, avenge the abominable violation of the conſecrated territory. Do you, Amphictyons! determine as wiſdom ſhall direct. Your offerings are prepared, your victims are brought to the altar; you are ready to offer ſolemn prayers for bleſſings on yourſelves, and on the republics which you repreſent. But conſider with what voice, with what heart, with what confidence, you can breathe out your petitions, while you ſuffer the profanation of the Amphiſſeans to paſs unrevenged. Hear the words of the imprecation, not only againſt thoſe who cultivate the conſecrated ground, but againſt thoſe who neglect to puniſh them: "May they never preſent an acceptable offering to Apollo, Diana, Latona, or Minerva the provident; but may all their ſacrifices and religious rites be for ever rejected and abhorred[78]!"

which excites the third ſacred war.

The warmth of Æſchines occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion in the aſſembly. The golden ſhields, irregularly dedicated by the Athenians, were no longer the ſubject of diſcourſe. This ſlight impro-

[78] Pauſanias Phocic. & Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

priety

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priety diſappeared amidſt the enormous impieties of the Amphiſſeans, which had been ſo forcibly painted to the ſuperſtitious fancies of the terrified multitude. It was determined, after violent contentions between thoſe who accuſed, and thoſe who defended, this unhappy people, that the Amphictyons, having ſummoned the aſſiſtance of the citizens of Delphi, ſhould next day repair to the Cirrhean plain, in order to burn, cut down, and deſtroy the houſes and plantations, which had ſo long adorned and defiled that devoted territory. The ravagers met with little oppoſition in performing this pious devaſtation; but as they returned towards the temple, they were overtaken and aſſaulted by a numerous party of Amphiſſeans, who threw them into diſorder, took ſeveral priſoners, and purſued the reſt to Delphi. The ſignal of war was now raiſed; the inſulted Amphictyons, in whoſe perſons the ſanctity of religion had been violated, complained to their reſpective republics, while the recent audacity of the Amphiſſeans aggravated their ancient crimes and enormities. But agreeably to the languor inherent in councils which poſſeſs only a delegated authority, the meaſures of the Amphictyons were extremely ſlow and irreſolute; and when they at length raiſed an army under the command of Cottyphus, a Theſſalian, and a creature of Philip's, their operations were ill conducted and unſucceſsful[79].

The Amphictyons appoint

Affairs were thus brought to the iſſue which had been expected by Æſchines, and the accomplices

[79] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

who

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who aſſiſted him in promoting the intereſt of the king of Macedon. They loudly declaimed in the council againſt the lukewarm indifference of the Grecian ſtates in a war which ſo deeply concerned the national religion. " It became the Amphictyons, therefore, as the miniſters of Apollo, and the guardians of his temple, to ſeek out and employ ſome more powerful inſtrument of the divine vengeance. Philip of Macedon had formerly given proof of his pious zeal in the Phocian war. That prince was now returning in triumph from his Scythian expedition. His aſſiſtance muſt again be demanded (nor would it be demanded in vain) to defend the cauſe of Apollo and the ſacred ſhrine." This propoſal being approved, a deputation of the Amphictyons met Philip in Thrace. He received their welcome meſſage with well-affected ſurpriſe, but declared his veneration for the commands of the council, which he ſhould be ever ready to obey [80].

Philip their general.

The vigilant prince had already taken proper meaſures for acting as general of the Amphictyons, and provided a ſufficient number of tranſports to convey his army into Greece. He underſtood that notwithſtanding the intrigues of Æſchines and his aſſociates, the Athenians had been perſuaded by Demoſthenes to oppoſe his deſign, and that their admirals Chares and Proxenus prepared to intercept his paſſage with a ſuperior naval force. To baffle this oppoſition, Philip employed

Philip eludes the Athenian fleet by a ſtratagem.

[80] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

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a ſtratagem. A light brigantine was diſpatched to Macedon with letters of ſuch import as gave reaſon to believe that he purpoſed immediately returning into Thrace[81]. Beſides writing to Antipater, his principal confidant and miniſter, he took care to maſk his artifice, by ſending letters to his queen Olympias. The brigantine deſignedly fell into the hands of the Athenians. The diſpatches were ſeized and read; but the letter of the queen was politely forwarded to its deſtination[82]. The Athenian admirals quitted their ſtation, and Philip arrived, without oppoſition, on the coaſt of Locris, from whence he proceeded to Delphi.

Philip defeats the Athenian mercenaries, and takes poſſeſſion of Amphiſſa.

Though the Macedonians alone were far more numerous than ſeemed neceſſary for the reduction of Amphiſſa, the king, in the month of November, diſpatched circular letters through moſt parts of Greece, requiring from the Thebans, Peloponneſians, and other ſtates, the aſſiſtance of their combined arms to maintain the cauſe of the Amphictyons and Apollo. The Thebans, rather intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, of whoſe deſigns they had lately become extremely jealous, ſent a ſmall body of infantry to join the ſtandard of Philip. The Lacedæmonians, long diſguſted with the meaſures of Greece, and envying the power of Macedon, which they had not public ſpirit to oppoſe, beheld all recent tranſactions with a contemptuous diſregard, and ſeemed firm in

[81] Polyæn. l. iv. c. ii. [82] Plut. in Demetr.

their

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their purpoſe of preſerving a ſullen neutrality. The Athenians, awakened by the activity of Demoſthenes to a ſenſe of their danger, oppoſed Philip with ten thouſand mercenaries, deſpiſing the threats of the oracle, againſt thoſe who took part with the impious Amphiſſeans. The orator boldly accuſed the Pythian prieſteſs and her miniſters of being bribed to Philippiſe, or to propheſy as might beſt ſuit the intereſt of Philip; while Æſchines, on the other hand, accuſed his adverſary of having received a thouſand drachmas, and an annual penſion of twenty minæ, to abet the impiety of Amphiſſa[83]. The king of Macedon, without waiting for any farther reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans, beſieged, took, and garriſoned that unfortunate city; and having routed and put to flight the Athenian mercenaries, ſpread the terror of his arms round all the neighbouring territory[84].

The Athenians, while they negociate with Philip, faiſe a confederacy againſt that prince.

The news of theſe events occaſioned dreadful conſternation in Athens. The terrified citizens, who could not be perſuaded to tear themſelves from their beloved pleaſures in order to defend Amphiſſa, believed the moment approaching when they muſt defend their own walls againſt the victorious invader. After leſs altercation and delay than uſually prevailed in their councils, they ſent an embaſſy to Philip, craving a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and, at the ſame time, diſpatched their ableſt orators to rouſe the Greeks from their ſupine negligence, and

[83] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. [84] Demoſthen. de Corona.

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to animate and unite them againſt a Barbarian, who, under pretence of avenging the offended divinity of Apollo, meditated the ſubjugation of their common country. Megara, Eubœa, Leucas, Corinth, Corcyra, and Achaia, favourably received the ambaſſadors, and readily entered into a league againſt Macedon. Thebes fluctuated in uncertainty, hating the Athenians as rivals, and dreading Philip as a tyrant. The ſituation of the Theban territory, through which Philip muſt march before he could invade Attica, rendered the deciſion of that people peculiarly important[85]. To gain or to retain their friendſhip, the intrigues of Philip, the eloquence of Athens, had been employed with unwearied aſſiduity. The Thebans temporiſed, deliberated, reſolved, and changed their reſolutions. The partiſans of Athens were moſt numerous, thoſe of Macedon moſt active, while the great body of the Theban people heard the clamours and arguments of both parties with that ſtupid indifference, and took their meaſures with that lethargic slowness, which diſgraced even the heavy character of *Bœotians*[86].

The Thebans fluctuate between the party of Philip and that of the Athenians.

To fix their wavering reſolution, and to awaken their ſenſibility, Philip at length had recourſe to the ſtrong impreſſion of terror. From the general wreck of Phocis, his foreſight and policy had ſpared the walls of Elatæa, a city important by its ſituation between two ranges of mountains, which opened into Phocis and Bœotia. The ci-

Philip ſeizes Elatæa. Olymp. cx. 3. A. C. 338.

85 Diodor. l. xvi. p. 475.

86 Demoſthen. de Coron.

tadel

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tadel was built on an eminence, waſhed by the river Cephiſſus, which flowed in a winding courſe through Bœotia into the lake Copais; a broad expanſe of water, which, by ſeveral navigable ſtreams, communicated with Attica. This valuable poſt, conveniently ſituate for receiving reinforcements from Theſſaly and Macedon, commanding the paſſage into Bœotia, diſtant only two days march from Attica, and which, being garriſoned by a powerful army, might continually alarm the ſafety of Thebes and Athens, Philip ſeized with equal boldneſs and celerity[87], drew the greater part of his troops thither, repaired and ſtrengthened the walls of the place, and having thus ſecured himſelf from ſurpriſe, watched a favourable opportunity of inflicting puniſhment on the Athenians, who had given him ſufficient ground to repreſent them as the enemies of the Amphictyonic council[88], by whoſe authority the king of Macedon affected to be guided in all his operations.

Alarm thereby excited in Athens.

We are not informed of the immediate effect of this vigorous meaſure on the reſolutions of the Thebans; but the terror and conſternation of the uncorrupt part of the citizens, may be conjectured by what happened on the ſame occaſion at Athens. It was late in the evening when a courier arrived with the melancholy tidings that Philip had taken poſſeſſion of Elatæa. The people had retired to their houſes; the magiſtrates ſupped in the Prytanæum; but in a moment all were abroad.

[87] Diodor. & Demoſthen. ubi. ſupra. [88] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

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Some haſtened to the generals; others went in queſt of the officer [89] whoſe buſineſs it was to ſummon the citizens to council; moſt flocked to the market-place; and, in order to make room for the aſſembly, pulled down or burned the temporary wooden edifices erected by the tradeſmen or artificers who expoſed their wares to ſale in that ſpacious ſquare. Before dawn the confuſion ceaſed; the citizens were all aſſembled; the ſenators took their places; the preſident reported to them the alarming intelligence that had been received. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice, "That he who had any thing to offer on the preſent emergence, ſhould mount the roſtrum, and propoſe his advice." The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with ſilence and diſmay. All the magiſtrates, the generals, the demagogues, were all preſent; but none obeyed the ſummons of the herald, which Demoſthenes calls the voice of their country imploring the aſſiſtance of her children [90].

Demoſthenes exhorts the Athenians to oppoſe Philip to the utmoſt of their power by ſea and land.

At length that accompliſhed orator aroſe, and obtained the nobleſt triumph of patriotiſm; having propoſed, amidſt univerſal conſternation, an advice equally prudent, generous, and ſucceſsful. He began by darting a ray of hope into the deſponding citizens, and aſſuring them that were not the Thebans, the greater part at leaſt of the

[89] Τον σαλπιγκτην ικαλων, p. 317.

[90] Καλησης δε της κοινης της πατριδος φωνης τον ερωντα ὑπες σωτηριας· ην γαρ ὁ κηρυξ κατα τους νομους φωνην αφιησι, ταυτην κοινην της πατριδος δικαιον εστι ηγεισθαι, p. 317. The paſſage that follows has been often cited, and can never be too much ſtudied, as one of the fineſt examples of oratorical narration.

Thebans,

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Thebans, hoſtile to Philip, that prince would not be actually poſted at Elatæa, but on the Athenian frontier. He exhorted his countrymen to ſhake off the unmanly terror which had ſurpriſed them; and, inſtead of fearing for themſelves, to fear only for their neighbours, whoſe territories were more immediately threatened, and who muſt ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the invaſion. "Let your forces," continued he, "immediately march to Eleuſis, in order to ſhow the Thebans, and all Greece, that as thoſe who have ſold their country, are ſupported by the Macedonian forces at Elatæa, ſo you are ready to defend with your hereditary courage and fortune thoſe who fight for liberty. Let ambaſſadors at the ſame time be ſent to Thebes, to remind that republic of the good offices conferred by your anceſtors; to aſſure the Thebans, that you do not conſider them as aliens; that the people of Athens have forgot all recent hoſtilities with the citizens of Greece, and will never forſake the cauſe of their common country, which is actually, in a peculiar manner, the cauſe of Thebes. To this community, therefore, offer your moſt diſintereſted ſervices. To make any demand for yourſelves, would be highly improper in the preſent juncture. Aſſure them that you are deeply affected by their danger, and prepared generouſly to defend them to the utmoſt of your power."

Theſe propoſals being received with general approbation, Demoſthenes drew up a formal decree for carrying them into execution; a decree which may be conſidered as the expiring voice of a people,

The decree for that purpoſe, dated Auguſt.

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who, agreeably to the magnanimous counſel of Pericles, had determined, that when every thing mortal periſhed, the fame of Athens ſhould remain[91]. Having painted, in the moſt odious colours, the perfidy and violence of Philip; and having ſtigmatiſed with due ſeverity the recent in-

91 See vol. ii. c. xv. p. 229. In defending his own conduct, notwithſtanding the unfortunate conſequences with which it was attended, Demoſthenes ſeems animated by the true ſpirit of Pericles. Βυλομαι τι κ᾽ παραδοξον ειπειν; κ᾽ μη προς διος κ᾽ θεων! μηδεις την υπερβολην θαυμασῃ, αλλα μετ᾽ ευνοιας ὁ λεγω θεωρησατω· ει γαρ απασι προδηλα τα μελλοντα γενησεσθαι, κ᾽ προιδεσθαι παντες, κ᾽ συ προειλεγε Αισχινη, κ᾽ διεμαρτυρω, βοων κ᾽ κεκραγως, ὁς ηδε ιφθεγξω· υδ᾽ ὑτως αποστατεον τῃ πολει τῃτων γ᾽ ενεκα η δοξης η προγονων η τῃ μελλοντος αιωνος ειχε λογον. The beauties of ſuch paſſages, depending chiefly on collocation of words and ſentiments, of which Demoſthenes, of all writers, was the greateſt maſter, cannot be tranſlated. The meaning is, "I will venture to ſay what is contrary to common opinion, and, in the name of the Gods! regard not its extravagance, but examine it with indulgence. Had all of you foreſeen what was going to happen, had the conſequences of our conduct been manifeſt, and had you, Æſchines, repeatedly proclaimed them with a loud voice, you, who then opened not your mouth, yet the Athenians ought not to have forſaken the cauſe of Grecian freedom, unleſs they forſook their glory, their anceſtors, and their renown with ſucceeding ages." The ſame thought is expreſſed in language ſtill bolder, after the hearers are prepared for it, by a page of the moſt animated eloquence: Αλλα υκ εγ, ὑτως ομοιως, ανδρες Αθηναιοι, τον υπερ της απαντων ελευθεριας κ᾽ σωτηριας κινδυνον αραμενοι· ὁ μα τους εν Μαραθωνι προκινδυνευσαντας των προγονων, &c. See the paſſage, p. 343. He ſwears by thoſe who fell at Marathon, Platæa, Salamis, and Artemiſium, that the Athenians did not err in defending, with unequal fortune, and againſt ſuperior force, the public ſafety and liberty. Such paſſages, when detached, may appear extravagant and gigantic; but, as in the church of St. Peter's, where all is arranged with ſuch admirable ſymmetry, that no figure appears beyond the natural ſize, ſo, in the works of Demoſthenes, nothing appears monſtrous, becauſe all is great.

ſtances

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ſtances of his injuſtice and luſt of power, the orator concludes, "For ſuch reaſons, the ſenate and people of Athens, emulating the glory of their anceſtors, to whom the liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the intereſt of their particular republic, and humbly revering the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whoſe aid they now implore, have reſolved to ſend to the coaſt of Bœotia a fleet of two hundred ſail, to march to Eleuſis with their whole military ſtrength, to diſpatch ambaſſadors to the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, encouraging them to remain unterrified amidſt the dangers which threaten them, and to exert themſelves manfully in defence of the common cauſe, with aſſurance that the people of Athens, unmindful of old or later differences which have prevailed between the two republics, are determined and ready to ſupport them with all their faculties, their treaſures, their navies, and their arms; well knowing, that to contend for pre-eminence with the Greeks is an honourable conteſt; but to be commanded by a foreigner, and to ſuffer a Barbarian to wreſt the ſovereignty from their hands, would tarniſh their hereditary glory, and diſgrace their country for ever."

Demoſthenes perſuades the Thebans to join the ſtandard of Athens.

The ſame undaunted ſpirit which dictated this decree, attended the exertions of Demoſthenes in his embaſſy to Thebes, in which he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and over the eloquence of Philon of Byzantium, the emiſſaries employed by Philip on this important occaſion.

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occaſion. The Thebans paſſed a decree for receiving with gratitude the proffered aſſiſtance of Athens; and the Athenian army having ſoon after taken the field, were admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with all the flattering diſtinctions of ancient hoſpitality[92].

Preparations on both ſides for the battle of Chæronæa.

Meanwhile Philip having advanced towards the Bœotian frontier, his detached parties were foiled in two rencounters with the confederates. Regardleſs of theſe loſſes, to which, perhaps, he purpoſely ſubmitted, as neceſſary ſtratagems to draw the enemy from their walls, he proceeded with his main body, thirty-two thouſand ſtrong, to the plain of Chæronæa. This place was conſidered by Philip as well adapted to the operations of the Macedonian phalanx; and the ground for his encampment, and afterwards the field of battle, were choſen with equal ſagacity; having in view, on one ſide, a temple of Hercules, whom the Macedonians regarded as the author of their royal houſe, and the high protector of their fortune; and, on the other, the banks of the Thermodon, a ſmall river flowing into the Cephiſſus, announced by the oracles of Greece as the deſtined ſcene of deſolation and woe to their unhapyy country[93]. The generals of the confederate Greeks had been much leſs careful to avail themſelves of the powerful

[92] Demoſthenes, who furniſhes the above narrative, avoids dwelling on the following melancholy events, which are related by Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 475, & ſeqq. Plut. in Alexand. Strabo, l. ix. p. 414. Juſtin. l. ix. c. iii. & Pauſanias Bœotic.

[93] Plut. in Vit. Demoſth.

ſanctions

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ſanctions of ſuperſtition. Unreſtrained by inauſpicious ſacrifices, the Athenians had left their city at the exhortation of Demoſthenes, to wait no other omen but the cauſe of their country. Regardleſs of oracles, they afterwards advanced to the ill-fated Thermodon, accompanied by the Thebans, and the ſcanty reinforcements raiſed by the iſlands, and ſtates of Peloponneſus, which had joined their alliance. Their army amounted to thirty thouſand men, animated by the nobleſt cauſe for which men can fight, but commanded by the Athenians Lyſicles and Chares, the firſt but little, and the ſecond unfavourably, known; and by Theagenes the Theban, a perſon ſtrongly ſuſpected of treachery; all three creatures of cabal, and tools of faction, ſlaves of intereſt or voluptuouſneſs, whoſe characters (eſpecially as they had been appointed to command the only ſtates whoſe ſhame, rather than virtue, yet oppoſed the public enemy) are alone ſufficient to prove that Greece was ripe for ruin.

When the day approached for aboliſhing the tottering independence of thoſe turbulent republics, which their own internal vices, and the arms and intrigues of Philip, had been gradually undermining for twenty-two years, both armies formed in battle array before the riſing of the ſun. The right wing of the Macedonians was headed by Philip, who judged proper to oppoſe in perſon the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His ſon Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but ſurrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which

Alexander routs the Thebans.

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faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were poſted in the centre. In the beginning of the action, the Athenians charged with impetuoſity, and repelled the oppoſing diviſions of the enemy; but the youthful ardour of Alexander obliged the Thebans [94] to retire, the Sacred Band being cut down to a man. The activity of the young prince completed their diſorder, and purſued the ſcattered multitude with his Theſſalian cavalry.

Philip defeats the Athenians.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much elated by their firſt advantage, loſt the opportunity to improve it; for, having repelled the centre and right wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, which was compoſed of choſen men, and immediately commanded by the king, they, inſtead of attempting to break this formidable body, by attacking it in flank, preſſed forward againſt the fugitives, the inſolent Lyſicles exclaiming in vain triumph, "Purſue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip obſerved this raſh folly with contempt, and ſaying to thoſe around him, "our enemies know not how to conquer," commanded his phalanx, by a rapid evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence, from which they poured down, firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians, whoſe confidence of ſucceſs had rendered them totally inſenſible to danger. But the irreſiſtible ſhock of the Macedonian ſpear converted their fury into deſpair. Above a thou-

94 Plutarch. in Alexand. 95 Polyæn. Stratagem. l. iv. c. ii.

ſand

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ſand fell, two thouſand were taken priſoners; the reſt eſcaped by a precipitate and ſhameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken. Few of the confederates periſhed, as they had little ſhare in the action, and as Philip, perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to ſpare the vanquiſhed, with a clemency unuſual in that age, and not leſs honourable to his underſtanding than his heart; ſince his humanity thus ſubdued the minds, and gained the affections, of his conquered enemies [96].

Philip viſits the field of battle.

According to the Grecian cuſtom, the battle was followed by an entertainment, at which the king, preſiding in perſon, received the congratulations of his friends, and the humble ſupplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their ſlain. Their requeſt, which ſerved as an acknowledgment of their defeat, was readily granted; but before they availed themſelves of the permiſſion to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural intemperance had protracted the entertainment till morning, iſſued forth with his licentious companions to viſit the field of battle; their heads crowned with feſtive garlands, their minds intoxicated with the inſolence of wine and victory; yet the ſight of the ſlaughtered Thebans, which firſt preſented itſelf to their eyes, and particularly the ſacred band of friends and lovers, who lay covered with honourable wounds, on the ſpot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back theſe

[96] Pauſan. Achaic. Diodor. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

inſolent

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inſolent ſpectators to the ſentiments of reaſon and humanity. Philip beheld the awful ſcene with a mixture of admiration and pity; and, after an affecting ſilence, denounced a ſolemn curſe againſt thoſe who baſely ſuſpected the friendſhip of ſuch brave men to be tainted with criminal and infamous paſſions [97].

His levity reprimanded by Demades.

But this ſerious temper of mind did not laſt long; for having proceeded to that quarter of the field where the Athenians had fought and fallen, the king abandoned himſelf to all the levity and littleneſs of the moſt petulant joy. Inſtead of being impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of his recent danger, and with dutiful gratitude to Heaven for the happineſs of his eſcape, and the importance of his victory, Philip only compared the boaſtful pretenſions, with the mean performances of his Athenian enemies; and, ſtruck by this contraſt, rehearſed, with the inſolent mockery of a buffoon, the pompous declaration of war lately drawn up by the ardent patriotiſm and too ſanguine hopes of Demoſthenes. It was on this occaſion that the orator Demades at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by aſking him, Why he aſſumed the character of Therſites, when fortune aſſigned him the part of Agamemnon [98]?

The different treatment of the Athenians and Thebans.

Whatever might be the effect of this ſharp reprimand [99], it is certain that the king of Macedon indulged not, on any future occaſion, a vain

97 Plutarch in Pelopid. 98 Idem in Demoſthen.

99 Plutarch aſcribes to this ſmart obſervation the moderation of Philip's ſubſequent conduct.

triumph

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triumph over the vanquiſhed. When adviſed by his generals to advance into Attica, and to render himſelf maſter of Athens, he only replied, "Have I done ſo much for glory, and ſhall I deſtroy the theatre of that glory[100]? His ſubſequent conduct correſponded with the moderation of this ſentiment. He reſtored, without ranſom, the Athenian priſoners; who, at departing, having demanded their baggage, were alſo gratified in this particular; the king pleaſantly obſerving, that the Athenians ſeemed to think he had not conquered them in earneſt[101]. Soon afterwards he diſpatched his ſon Alexander, and Antipater, the moſt truſted of his miniſters, to offer them peace on ſuch favourable terms as they had little reaſon to expect. They were required to ſend deputies to the Iſthmus of Corinth, where, to adjuſt their reſpective contingents of troops for the Perſian expedition, Philip purpoſed aſſembling, early in the ſpring, a general convention of all the Grecian ſtates; they were ordered to ſurrender the iſle of Samos, which actually formed the principal ſtation of their fleet, and the main bulwark and defence of all their maritime or inſular poſſeſſions; but they were allowed to enjoy, unmoleſted, the Attic territory, with their hereditary form of government, and flattered by the acquiſition of Oropus, for which they had ſo long contended with the unhappy Thebans[102]. It was not merely in being

100 Plutarch in Apophth. 101 Idem, ibid.
102 Pauſanias Bœotic. Diodorus, ubi ſupra.

deprived

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deprived of this city, that the Thebans experienced the indignation of the conqueror. From the tranſactions between Macedon and Thebes, in the early part of his reign, Philip thought himſelf entitled to treat that people, not as open and generous enemies, whoſe ſtruggle for freedom deſerved his clemency, but as faithleſs and inſidious rebels, who merited all the ſeverity of his juſtice. He puniſhed the republican party with unrelenting rigour; reſtored the traitors, whom they had baniſhed, to the firſt honours of the republic; and, in order to ſupport their government, placed a Macedonian garriſon in the Theban citadel [103].

Cauſes from which it proceeded.

In his oppoſite treatment of the two republics, Philip, it is probable, was ſwayed neither by affection nor hatred; his generoſity and his rigour were alike artificial, and both directed by his intereſt. Beſides the different characters of the Thebans and Athenians, which rendered the former as ſenſible to the impreſſion of fear, as the latter were ſuſceptible of gratitude and eſteem, the Thebans had too long, and too early, abandoned the cauſe of Greece, and too ſtrenuouſly exerted themſelves in eſtabliſhing the power of Macedon, to acquire much reputation by one unſucceſsful attempt to reſiſt Philip, to which they had been at length rouſed leſs by their own public ſpirit or courage, than by the zeal and eloquence of Demoſthenes. The Athenians, on the contrary, who from the beginning had oppoſed the views of this prince,

[103] Juſtin. l. ix. c. iv.

though

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though with far leſs prudence and activity than their ſituation required; who, through the whole courſe of his reign, had continued to traverſe his meaſures, and to ſpurn his authority; and who, previouſly to the laſt fatal encounter at Chæronæa, had endeavoured to form a general confederacy, and when that proved impoſſible, had determined, almoſt unaſſiſted and alone, to reſiſt the common foe, ſeemed entitled to ſuch gratitude and applauſe, as compaſſion beſtows on ill-directed valour and unfortunate patriotiſm; and the rigorous treatment of ſuch a people muſt have ſhocked the ſentiments, and exaſperated the hatred, of every citizen of Greece, who yet retained the faineſt tincture of ancient principles, or who was ſtill animated by the ſmalleſt ſpark of public ſpirit.

Daring meaſures of the Athenians after their defeat.

Philip too well underſtood his intereſt, thus to tarniſh the glory, and riſk the fruits of victory, although the daring and imprudent behaviour of the Athenians, after the battle, might have ſerved to juſtify the harſheſt meaſures. The firſt news of their defeat filled the city with tumult or conſternation. But when the diſorder ceaſed, the people ſhewed themſelves diſpoſed to place their whole confidence in arms, none in the mercy of Philip. Upon the motion of Hyperides [104], a decree paſſed for ſending to the Piræus their wives, children, and moſt valuable effects, together with the ſacred images and ornaments of their gods. By the ſame decree, the rights and freedom of the

[104] Plut. in Vita Hiperid.

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city were beſtowed on ſtrangers and ſlaves, and reſtored to perſons declared infamous, on this one condition, that they exerted themſelves in the public defence. Demoſthenes, with equal ſucceſs, propoſed a decree for repairing the walls and fortifications, a work which, being himſelf appointed to ſuperintend, he generouſly accompliſhed at the expence of his private fortune [105]. The orator Lycurgus undertook the more eaſy talk of impeaching the worthleſs Lyſicles, whoſe miſconduct in the day of battle had been the immediate cauſe of the late fatal diſaſter. In a diſcourſe calculated to revive the ſpirit of military enthuſiaſm, which had anciently animated the Athenians, the ſpeaker thus warmly apoſtrophiſed the conſcious guilt of the mute and trembling general: "The Athenians have been totally defeated in an engagement; the enemy have erected a trophy to the eternal diſhonour of Athens; and Greece is now prepared to receive the deteſted yoke of ſervitude. You were our commander on that inglorious day; and ſtill *you* breathe the vital air, enjoy the light of the ſun, and appear in our public places, a living monument of the diſgrace and ruin of your country." The quick reſentment of the hearers ſupplied the conſequence, and the criminal was dragged to execution [106].

Philip's moderation in victory.

Neither the inflammatory decrees, nor the hoſtile preparations, of Athens, could ſhake the moderation of Philip, or determine him to alter the

[105] Demoſth. de Corona.

[106] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 477.

favour-

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favourable terms of accommodation, which he had already propoſed by his ambaſſadors. The patriotic or republican party, headed by the orators juſt mentioned, breathed hatred and revenge; but, at the interceſſion of the Areopagus, which on this occaſion acted ſuitably to the fame of its ancient wiſdom, the prudent and virtuous Phocion [107] was appointed to the chief command. The diſcernment of this ſtateſman and general, whoſe merit had been neglected while it was yet time to perform any eſſential ſervice, might eaſily perceive the vanity of attempting to recover the honour of a people, who, antecedently to their defeat by Philip, had been ſtill more fatally ſubdued by their own pernicious vices. Amidſt the important events of the Macedonian war, and amidſt the dreadful misfortunes which, in conſequence of its melancholy iſſue, hung over their country, a ſet of Athenian citizens, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and fortune, and known by the appellation of the Sixty, from the accidental number of their original inſtitution, daily aſſembled into a club, where all ſerious tranſactions were treated with levity and ridicule, and the time totally dedicated to feaſting, gaming, and the ſprightly exerciſes of wit and pleaſantry. This deteſtable ſociety ſaw [108], without emotion, their countrymen arming for battle; with the moſt careleſs indifference they received accounts of their captivity or death; nor did the public calamities in any degree diſturb their feſti-

Extreme corruption of the Athenians.

107 Plutarch in Phocion.

108 Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 614.

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vity, or interrupt, for a moment, the tranquil courſe of their pleaſures. Their fame having reached Macedon, Philip ſent them a ſum of money, to ſupport the expence of an inſtitution ſo favourable to his views. But what opinion muſt Phocion have formed of ſuch an eſtabliſhment; or how was it poſſible for any diſpaſſionate man of ordinary prudence to expect, that a republic ſo totally degenerate, as to foſter ſuch wretches within its boſom, could ſucceſsfully wage war againſt a vigilant and enterpriſing enemy?

They determine to accept the terms of peace offered by Philip.

The arguments of the wiſeſt portion of the community for accepting the peace proffered by Philip, were ſtrengthened and confirmed by the return of Demades with the Athenian priſoners taken at Chæronæa, who unanimouſly blazed forth the praiſes of their generous conqueror. Ambaſſadors were accordingly diſpatched to the king of Macedon, to accept and ratify the treaty of peace, upon the terms which he had condeſcended to offer; and the only marks of deference ſhewn to the violent party, who ſtill clamoured for war, were, that Democharés, who oſtentatiouſly affected a rude boldneſs of ſpeech againſt Philip, was named among the ambaſſadors; and that Demoſthenes, the irreconcileable enemy of that prince, was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of thoſe ſlain at Chæronæa.

Inſolence of Democharés.

Democharés acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion with that extravagant petulance which naturally flowed from his character; and which, in the

Grecian

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Grecian commonwealths, too frequently diſgraced the decency of public tranſactions. At their audience of leave, Philip, with leſs ſincerity than politeneſs, laviſhed on the ambaſſadors his uſual profeſſions of friendſhip, and obligingly aſked them, if there was any thing farther in which he could gratify the Athenians? "Yes," ſaid Demochares, "hang thyſelf." The juſt indignation of all preſent broke forth againſt this unprovoked inſolence; when Philip, with admirable coolneſs, ſilenced the clamour, by ſaying, "Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmoleſted;" and then turning to the other ambaſſadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that thoſe who can utter ſuch outrages are leſs juſt and moderate, than he who can pardon them[109]."

Oration of Demoſthenes in honour of thoſe ſlain at Chæronæa.

The honourable employment conferred on Demoſthenes, which ſhewed that, notwithſtanding the unfortunate iſſue of his counſels, the Athenians ſtill approved his principles and his patriotiſm, might have been expected to elevate his ſentiments and his language to the higheſt ſtrain of eloquence. But the complexion of the times no longer admitted thoſe daring flights to which he had been accuſtomed to ſoar; and the powers of the orator ſeem to have declined with the fortunes of his country. With too apparent caution he avoids the mention of all recent tranſactions, and dwells with tireſome minuteneſs on the ancient, and even fabulous, parts of the Athenian ſtory. One

[109] Seneca de Ira.

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transient flash of light breaks forth towards the end of his discourse, when, commemorating the glory of the slain, he says, that the removal of those zealous republicans from their country was like taking the sun from the world[110]; a figure bold, yet just; since, after the battle of Chæronæa, there remained no further hopes of resisting the conqueror—the dignity of freedom was for ever lost, and the gloom of night and tyranny descended and thickened over Greece[111].

[110] Ὥσπερ γαρ ει τις εκ τȣ καθεςηκοτος κοσμȣ το φως εξελοιτο, δυσχερης και χαλεπος ἁπας ὁ λειπομενος ημιν βιος· ȣτω τωνδε ανδρων αναιρεθεντων, εν σκοτει και πολλη δυσκλεια πας ὁ προτος ζηλος των Ἑλληνων γεγονε. p. 155. "For as if light were taken from the world, the remaining life of mortals would be involved in difficulties and misery; so by the death of those warriors, the original glory of Greece was buried in darkness and ignominy." Of this discourse, which Libanius denies to be genuine, many passages are corrupt, and many interpolated. The general debility of the whole may be explained by the observation in the text, without having recourse to the defence of Wolfius: "Orationem Libanius Demosthenis esse negat ut vilem & imbecillem omnino. Quod quis miretur, cum & argumentum sit imbecille?" Demosthen. edit. Wolf. p. 152.

[111] Hic dies universæ Græciæ, et gloriam dominationis, et vetustissimam libertatem finivit. Justin. l. ix. c. iii. Demosthenes, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias, all express the same sentiments, and nearly in the same words.

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Liberal Spirit of the Macedonian Government.—Philip appointed General of the Greeks.—Rebellion of Illyria.—Aſſaſſination of Philip.—His Character.—Acceſſion of Alexander.—His Expedition againſt the Illyrians and Triballi.—He paſſes the Danube.—Rebellion in Greece.—Deſtruction of Thebes.—Heroiſm of Timoclea.—Alexander croſſes the Helleſpont.—State of the Perſian Empire.—Battle of the Granicus.—Siege of Miletus and Halicarnaſſus.—Bold Adventure of two Macedonian Soldiers.—Alexander's judicious Plan of War.—Arts by which he ſecured his Conqueſts.—The Battle of Iſſus.—The Virtues of Alexander expand with his Proſperity.

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Liberal ſpirit of the Macedonian government.

THE Greeks acknowledged, with reluctance and ſorrow, that by the deciſive victory of Chæronæa, Philip became maſter of their country [1]. But we ſhould form a very erroneous notion of the Macedonian government, if we compared

[1] Demoſth. Æſchin. Diodor. Plutarch. Arrian, paſſim. I ſhall cite only the words of Strabo: "Χαιρωνειᾳ δὲ ὅπου Φιλιππος ὁ Αμυντᾳ μεγαλως νικησας Αθηναιους, τε και Βοιωτους και Κορινθιους, κατεσχη της Ἑλλαδος κυριος. "And Chæronæa, where Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, having conquered the Athenians, Bœotians, and Corinthians, in a great battle, rendered himſelf maſter of Greece." Strab. Geograph. l. ix. p. 414.

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it with the deſpotiſm of the Eaſt, or the abſolute dominion of many European monarchs. The authority of Philip, even in his hereditary realms, was modelled on that admirable ſyſtem of power and liberty, which diſtinguiſhed and ennobled the *policies* of the heroic ages[2]. He adminiſtered the religion, decided the differences, and commanded the valour, of ſoldiers and freemen[3]. Perſonal merit entitled him to hold the ſceptre, which, being derived from Jove, could not long be ſwayed by unworthy hands. The ſuperiority of his abilities, the vigilant and impartial juſtice of his adminiſtration, formed the main pillars of his prerogative; ſince, according to the principles and feelings of the Macedonians, he who infringed the rights of his ſubjects[4], ceaſed from that moment to be a king.

Nature and extent of Philip's authority in Greece.

Having effected the conqueſt of Greece, the prudence of Philip could not be ſuppoſed ambitious of introducing into that country more ſevere maxims of government than thoſe which prevailed

[2] When Alexander, intoxicated with proſperity, claimed too exalted honours, he was told by Calliſthenes the philoſopher, "Οι προγονοι εξ Αργους εις Μακεδονιαν ηλθον, ουδε βια αλλα νομω Μακεδοσιων αρχοντες διετελεσαν. Your anceſtors came from Argos to Macedon, and continued there, governing the Macedonians, not by force, but by law." Arrian. Exped. Alexand. p. 87.

[3] In capital caſes, ſays Curtius, the ſoldiers judged in time of war, the citizens in time of peace. He then adds, "Nihil poteſtas regum valebat niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas;" ſcilicet populi. Curtius, l. vi. c. ix. p. 441.

[4] A very mean ſubject literally told Philip, "If you refuſe to do me juſtice, ceaſe to be a king." Plut. Apophth.

in

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in Macedon. He affected, on the contrary, to preſerve inviolate the ancient forms of the republican conſtitution, and determined to govern the Greeks by the ſame policy with which he had ſubdued them. While Macedonian garriſons kept poſſeſſion of Thermopylæ and the other ſtrong holds of Greece, the faithful and active partiſans of Philip controuled the reſolutions, and directed the meaſures, of each particular republic. The ſuperintendence of the ſacred games, as well as of the Delphic temple, rendered him the only viſible head of the national religion: in conſequence of the double right of preſiding and voting in the Amphictyonic council, he appeared in the character of ſupreme civil magiſtrate of Greece; and his illuſtrious victory at Chæronæa over the only communities that oppoſed his greatneſs, pointed him out as the general beſt entitled to conduct the military force of Greece and Macedon in the long-projected invaſion of Perſia; an office which, as he might have aſſumed it without blame, he therefore ſolicited with applauſe from the impartial ſuffrages of the people[5].

Philip named general of the Greeks. Olymp. cx. 4. A. C. 337.

That this condeſcenſion muſt have been highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, appears from the tranſactions at Corinth, where Philip, the year following the battle of Chæronæa, had aſſembled a general convention of the Amphictyonic ſtates[6]. In this aſſembly, Dius of Epheſus repreſented, with affecting energy, the vexations and

5 Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556. Των Ελληνων ἱλομενων αυτον στρατηγον, &c.

6 Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556.

oppreſſion

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oppreſſion which the feeble colonies of Aſia daily experienced from the rapacious cruelty of the Perſian ſatraps. The general voice of the aſſembly approved his complaint, while they recollected, with indignation, the continual outrages of a people who had anciently invaded their country, inſulted their religion, burned their temples, and, not ſatisfied with theſe acts of vengeance, had reduced and oppreſſed their colonies, and uninterruptedly excited and nouriſhed thoſe cruel animoſities which had long filled every part of Greece with ſedition and blood[7]. Philip had private wrongs to urge againſt the Perſians, whoſe hatred and jealouſy had, on ſeveral occaſions, thwarted his meaſures and diſturbed his government. Yet he inſiſted chiefly on their public injuries, and notorious enmity to the whole Grecian name, the honour of which could only be redeemed by a ſucceſsful expedition into Aſia.

Amount of their forces.

This expedition was determined with univerſal conſent. Philip was appointed general of the confederacy; and (although the Lacedæmonians ſullenly abſented themſelves from the convention) when the ſeveral ſtates came to aſcertain the contingent of troops which they could reſpectively raiſe, the whole, excluſive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe[8]; a prodigious force, of which the domeſtic diſſenſions of the Greeks had hitherto, perhaps, prevented them

7 Iſocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

8 Juſtin. l. ix. c. v.

from

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from forming an adequate notion. On no former occaſion had the ſeveral republics appeared ſo thoroughly united in one common cauſe; never had they ſhewn themſelves ſo ſenſible of their combined ſtrength; never had they teſtified ſuch general alacrity to take the field, or ſuch unlimited confidence in the abilities of their commander.

The expedition retarded by a rebellion in Illyria, and domeſtic diſſenſions in Macedon. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

It belongs to the biographers of the king of Macedon, to examine the circumſtances of the bloody tranſaction which clouded this glorious proſpect. In the general hiſtory of Greece, it is ſufficient to mention, that Philip, having diſpatched Parmenio with a body of troops to protect the Aſiatic colonies, was prevented from immediately following that commander by an inſurrection of the Illyrian tribes[9]. This unſeaſonable diverſion from the greateſt enterpriſe of his reign, was rendered more formidable by the domeſtic diſcord which ſhook the palace of Philip. A ſpirit leſs proud and jealous than that of Olympias, mother of Alexander, might have been juſtly provoked by the continual infidelities of her huſband, who, whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war, never ceaſed to augment the number of his wives or concubines[10]. The generous mind of Alexander muſt naturally have eſpouſed the cauſe of his mother, although his own intereſt had not been deeply concerned in preventing Philip from continually giving him ſo many new rivals to the throne. The young prince defended the rights of Olympias

9 Diodor. ad Olymp.

10 Athenæus, l. xiii.

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and his own, with the impetuoſity natural to his character; at the nuptials of Philip with Caſſandra, the niece of Attalus, one of his generals and favourites, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father and his more haughty ſon [11]; and the latter, concluding all thoſe to be [illegible] who were enemies to the former, [illegible] among the rebellious Illyrians, who were already in arms againſt their ſovereign.

Philip extricates himſelf from theſe difficulties. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

The dexterity of Philip extricated him from theſe difficulties. Having conquered the Illyrians, he ſoftened Alexander by aſſuring him that his illuſtrious merit, which was alike admired in Greece and Macedon, had not eſcaped the anxious vigilance of a parent, who, by giving him many rivals to the throne, had only given him an opportunity of ſurpaſſing them all in glory and in the merited affection of the Macedonians [12]. Soothed by this condeſcenſion, Olympias and her ſon again appeared at court with the diſtinction due to their rank; and to announce and confirm this happy reconcilement with his family, Philip married his beloved daughter Cleopatra to the king of Epirus, maternal uncle of Alexander; and celebrated the nuptials by a magnificent feſtival which laſted ſeveral days, during which the Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other in ſhewing their obſequious reſpect towards their common general and maſter.

Is aſſaſſinated in going to the theatre.

Amidſt the tumultuous amuſements of the feſtivity, Philip often appeared in public with unguarded

[11] Plutarch. in Alexand. [12] Plut. Apophth.

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guarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment of all his ſubjects: but proceeding one day from the palace to the theatre, he was ſtabbed to the heart by Pauſanias [13], a Macedonian; whether the aſſaſſin was ſtimulated merely by private reſentment, or prompted by the ill-appeaſed rage of Olympias, or inſtigated to commit this atrocity by the Perſian ſatraps; which laſt is aſſerted by Alexander [14], who alleged the aſſaſſination of his father among his reaſons for invading the Perſian empire.

His character.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign; the firſt prince whoſe life and actions hiſtory hath deſcribed with ſuch regular accuracy, and circumſtantial fulneſs, as render his adminiſtration a matter of inſtruction to ſucceeding ages. With a reach of foreſight and ſagacity peculiar to himſelf, he united all the prominent features of the Grecian character, valour, eloquence, addreſs, flexibility to vary his conduct without changing his purpoſe, the moſt extraordinary powers of application and perſeverance, of cool combination and ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of his career by the hand of an aſſaſſin, he was prevented from undertaking the juſteſt and nobleſt deſign of his reign; a deſign which he had long meditated, and in which his near proſpect of ſucceſs promiſed to reward the labours and dangers of his toilſome life. Had not his days been ſhortened

[13] Diodor. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

[14] Arrian. l. ii. c. iii. & Curtius, l. iv. c. i.

by

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by a premature death, there is good reaſon to believe that he might have ſubdued the Perſian empire; an enterpriſe more dazzling, but leſs difficult, than the exploits which he had already achieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long and ſucceſsful [illegible] have been ennobled and illuminated by the ſplendour of extenſive foreign conqueſt; Philip would have reached the height of ſuch renown as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the purſuit of unbounded greatneſs; and, in the opinion of poſterity, would perhaps have ſurpaſſed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this ſuppoſition, there is not any man of ſenſe and probity, who, if he allows himſelf time for ſerious reflection, would purchaſe the imagined grandeur and proſperity of the king of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes; and to a philoſopher, who conſidered either the means by which he had obtained his triumphs, or the probable conſequences of his dominion over Greece and Aſia, the buſy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful ſcene of ſplendid miſery.

Difficulties attending the acceſſion of Alexander to the Macedonian throne. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

A prince who is his own miniſter, and almoſt the ſole depoſitary of his own ſecrets, commonly leaves an arduous taſk for the labours of his ſucceſſor. This difficulty preſented itſelf to Alexander; but it was not the only circumſtance that rendered his ſituation difficult. The regular order of

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of ſucceſſion had never been clearly eſtabliſhed in Macedon, and was, in ſome meaſure, incompatible with the ſpirit of royal government, which, as then generally underſtood, required ſuch qualities and accompliſhments in the firſt magiſtrate, as could not be expected from a promiſcuous line of hereditary princes. The numerous wives of Philip had, however, been moſt fruitful in female offspring. Nor had Alexander much to apprehend from the rivalſhip of his brothers, ſince Ptolemy, born of Arſinoë, and afterwards king of Egypt, was reputed to be the ſon of Lagus, to whom Philip had married Arſinoë, while ſhe was with child by himſelf; and Aridæus, the ſon of Philina, who, for ſix years after the death of Alexander, held a pageant royalty in the Eaſt, by the terror of his brother's name, and through the diſcordant ambition of his lieutenants, poſſeſſed not vigour of mind eagerly to diſpute the ſucceſſion. But Alexander's title was conteſted by Amyntas, ſon of Perdiccas, the elder brother of Philip, in whoſe name the laſt-mentioned prince originally adminiſtered the government, till the tender age of Amyntas being rejected by the Macedonians, Philip ſo little feared the revival of his pretenſions to the throne, that he had given him his daughter Cyna in marriage. This new advantage ſtrengthened the claim of Amyntas, which, it was probable, would be warmly ſupported by Attalus, a bold and enterpriſing commander, the perſonal enemy of Olympias and her ſon, of whom the former had recently put to death his kinſwoman

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woman Cleopatra, with ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty. Alexander privately took meaſures with his friends for cruſhing thoſe dangerous enemies [15]; and, being acknowledged king of Macedon, [illegible] into Greece, to reap the fruits of his [illegible] labours, which might be loſt by delay.

He is acknowledged general of the Greeks in an aſſembly of the ſtates at Corinth.

In his journey thither, he experienced the perfidious inconſtancy of the Theſſalians, whom he chaſtiſed with proper ſeverity; and having aſſembled the deputies of the ſtates at Corinth, he was inveſted with the ſame honours [16] which had been conferred on his predeceſſor. During his reſidence in that city there happened an incident which more clearly diſplays the character of Alexander, than can be done by the moſt elaborate deſcription. Curioſity led him to viſit Diogenes the cynic, whoſe ſingular manners and mode of life have been mentioned on a former occaſion. He found him baſking in the ſun [17], and, having made himſelf known as the maſter of Macedon and Greece, aſked the philoſopher what he could do to oblige him? "Stand from between me and the ſun," was the anſwer of the cynic: upon which the king obſerved to his attendants, "that he would chooſe to be Diogenes [18] if he were not Alexander." The obſervation was natural and ſublime; ſince, under the moſt diſſimilar veils of external circumſtances and purſuits, their characters concealed a real reſemblance. Both poſ-

His character diſplayed in his converſation with Diogenes the cynic.

15 Diodorus, l. xvii. 2, & ſeqq. & Juſtin. xi. 1, & ſeqq.
16 Idem, ibid. 17 Pauſan. l. ii. p. 88.
18 Laertius in Vit. Diogen.

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ſeſſed that proud erect ſpirit which diſdains authority, ſpurns controul, and aſpires to domineer over fortune. But, by diminiſhing the number of his wants, Diogenes found, in his tub, that independence of mind, which Alexander, by the unbounded gratification of his deſires, could not attain on the imperial throne of Perſia.

His expedition againſt the Illyrians and Triballi. Olymp. cxi. 2. A. C. 335.

Alexander, having returned to Macedon, prepared for his eaſtern expedition by diffuſing the terror of his name among the northern Barbarians. The Illyrians and Triballi, mindful of the injuries of Philip, had haſtily taken arms to oppoſe, ere it became too late, the youth and inexperience of his ſon. But the diſcernment of the young prince readily perceived the danger of leaving ſuch formidable enemies on his frontier. With a well-appointed army, he marched from Amphipolis, and, leaving the city Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, arrived in ten days at the principal paſs of Mount Hæmus, which led into the territory of the Triballi. There he found a new, and not leſs formidable enemy. The independent tribes of Thrace, having embraced the cauſe of the Triballi, had ſeized an eminence commanding the paſs; and, inſtead of a breaſtwork, had fortified themſelves with their carriages or waggons, which they purpoſed to roll down on the Macedonians. To elude this unuſual attack, Alexander commanded ſuch of his troops as could not conveniently open their ranks, and allow free iſſue to the intended violence, to fall flat on the ground, and carefully cloſe their ſhields, that the deſcending

He defeats the independent tribes of Thrace.

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waggons might harmleſs bound over them. In conſequence of this contrivanee, the hoſtile artillery was exhauſted in vain. Alexander then attacked the Thracians with admirable order and celerity. Fifteen hundred fell; their ſwiftneſs and knowledge of the country ſaved the greater number. The priſoners, women, and booty, were ſent for ſale to the maritime cities on the Euxine [19].

The Triballi take refuge in Peucé.

Alexander having intruſted this buſineſs to Lyſanias and Philotas, paſſed the mountains, and purſued the Triballi. By galling them with his bowmen and ſlingers, he gradually forced them from their faſtneſſes, and defeated a powerful body of their warriors encamped on the woody banks of the Lyginus, diſtant three days march from the Danube. The remainder of the nation, conducted by the valour of their chieftain Syrmus, and reinforced by a numerous band of Thracians, took refuge in Peucé, an iſland in the Danube, defended by abrupt and rugged banks, ſurrounded by deep and foaming ſtreams. Alexander, though he had juſt received ſome ſhips of war from Byzantium, judged it too hazardous to aſſault the iſland; and the hoſtile appearance of the Getæ on the northern bank, furniſhed him with an honourable pretence for declining the ſiege of Peucé. On the margin of the Danube, that audacious people had drawn up four thouſand horſe, and above ten thouſand foot, ſhowing, by their countenance and demeanour, a determined reſolution to oppoſe the landing of an enemy. Provoked by thoſe ſigns of

Alexander paſſes the Danube;

[19] Arrian. Alexand. Expedit. l. i. p. 2, & ſeqq.

defiance,

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defiance, and animated by the glory of paſſing the greateſt of all European rivers, and that which was ſurrounded with the greateſt and moſt warlike nations, Alexander filled the hides uſed in encampment with ſtraw and other buoyant materials, and collected all the boats employed by the natives of thoſe parts in fiſhing, commerce, or piracy. Amidſt the darkneſs of the enſuing night, he thus tranſported fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thouſand infantry, to that part of the oppoſite bank, which was covered with high and thick corn. At the dawn of day, he commanded his foot to march through thoſe rich fields [20] with tranſverſed ſpears; while they remained concealed in the corn, the cavalry followed them; but as ſoon as they emerged into the naked plain, the horſe advanced to the front, and both ſuddenly preſenting an irreſiſtible object of terror, the Getæ abandoned their poſt, and fled to their city, which was four miles diſtant. There, they at firſt purpoſed to make a vigorous defence; but perceiving that Alexander cautiouſly ſkirted the river, to avoid the danger of an ambuſh, reflecting on his aſtoniſhing boldneſs in paſſing, without a bridge, the Danube in one night, and beholding the impenetrable firmneſs of his phalanx, and the irreſiſtible impetuoſity of his cavalry [21], they regarded farther oppoſition as

[20] Πλαγιαις ταις σαρισσαις επικλινοντες τον σιτον. The ſpears were tranſverſed, not only for the purpoſe of concealment, "but to make a road through the corn."

[21] Φοβερα δε της φαλαγγος ἡ ξυγκλασις, βιαια δε ἡ των ἱππεων ἐμβολη, Arrian, p. 4. Alexander knew the proper uſe of cavalry,

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as vain, forſook their habitations, and retired precipitately, with their wives and children, into the northern deſert [22].

receives the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring nations.

The Macedonians entered, and ſacked the town. The ſpoil was entruſted to Philip and Meleager; Alexander, mindful of ſo many favours, returned ſacrifices of thanks to Jupiter, Hercules, and the god of the Danube; and, encamping on the northern bank of the river, received very ſubmiſſive embaſſies from the ſurrounding nations. Even Syrmus, the intrepid leader of the Triballi, ſent propitiatory preſents, and readily obtained pardon from a prince, who could admire virtue in a Barbarian, and an enemy [23].

Arrogance of the Celtæ.

Neceſſity alone compelled Alexander to carry his arms into thoſe inhoſpitable regions. Animated by an ambition to ſubdue the Aſiatic plains, he turned with contempt from bleak heaths and barren mountains, not deigning to chaſtiſe the boaſtful arrogance of the Celtæ. The Boii and Senones, Celtic or German tribes, (for thoſe nations were often confounded by the Greeks,) ſent ambaſſadors to Alexander, who, obſerving their lofty ſtature and haughty ſpirit, endeavoured to humble them by aſking, what, of all things, they moſt feared?" not doubting, they would an-

which was ſo little underſtood in the laſt century, that the three ranks fired ſucceſſively before the charge; each, after firing, paſſing, by a carocol, behind the reſt. Guſtavus Adolphus allowed only his firſt rank to fire; which was doubtleſs a great improvement, and paved the way for reducing the ſervice of cavalry to its true principle, what Arrian calls "ἡ ἱππικὴ ἐμβολή."

[22] Arrian, l. i. p. 3, & ſeqq. [23] Idem, ibid.

ſwer,

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ſwer, "yourſelf;" but they replied, "the fall of heaven." The king declared them his friends and allies, but whiſpered to thoſe around him, "the Celtæ are an arrogant people [24]." Could we admit the truth of this narrative, and believe that ambaſſadors were really ſent to Alexander by the nations inhabiting the northern receſſes of the Ionian gulph, it would be intereſting to obſerve the early character and firſt proceedings of a people, who were deſtined to ſubdue the conquerors of the Macedonian empire.

Alexander reduces the Taulantii, and other Illyrian tribes.

In his return towards Pella, Alexander marched through the friendly country of the Pæonians, where he received the unpleaſant intelligence that the Illyrian tribes were in arms, headed by Clitus, ſon of Bardyllis, the hereditary foe of Macedon. Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, prepared to join the arms of Clitus; the Autariadæ, likewiſe an Illyrian nation, had determined to obſtruct the march of Alexander. Amidſt theſe difficulties, he was encouraged by Langarus, chief of the Agrians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the ridges of Mount Hæmus. Even in the life-time of Philip, Langarus [25] had diſcerned the ſuperior merit of his ſon, with whom he had early entered into a confidential correſpondence. Conducted by the activity of Langarus, the Agrian targeteers, who thenceforth had an important ſhare in all the Macedonian victories, invaded the country of the Autariadæ. Their ravages were equally rapid and deſtructive; the Au-

24 Arrian, l. i. p. 5. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 208 & 209.

25 Λαγγαρος . . . και Φιλιππῳ ζωντος ασπαζομενος Αλεξανδρον δηλος ην, και ιδιᾳ επρεσβευσε παρ' αυτον. Arrian, p. 5.

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tariadæ, broken by domeſtic calamity, or alarmed by private danger, abandoned the deſign of co-operating with the enemies of Alexander. That prince thus advanced without oppoſition to Pellion, the principal ſtrong-hold of the Illyrians. His army encamped on the banks of the Eordaicus. The enemy were poſted on the adjacent mountains, and concealed among thick woods, purpoſing to attack the Macedonians by a ſudden and united aſſault. But their courage failed them in the moment of execution. Not daring to wait the approach of the phalanx, they precipitately retreated to their city, leaving behind them the horrid veſtiges of their bloody ſuperſtition, three boys, three maids, and as many black rams, which, having juſt ſacrificed, they wanted time to remove [26].

Meanwhile Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, approached with a great force [27] to relieve Pellion, and aſſiſt his ally. Alexander had diſpatched Philotas to forage at the head of a ſtrong body of cavalry. Glaucias attempted to intercept and cut off this detachment. Alexander, leaving part of his army to awe Pellion, marched to the aſſiſtance of Philotas; Clitus reinforced Glaucias; a deciſive action thus ſeemed inevitable, if the thickneſs of lofty foreſts, and the intricacies of winding mountains, had afforded a proper ſcene for a general engagement. The Barbarians excelled in knowledge of the country; the Macedonians in

[26] Arrian, p. 5.

[27] Μετα πολλης δυναμεως. Idem, p. 6. Neither Thrace nor Illyria were populous in thoſe days; but as every man was a ſoldier, the princes of thoſe countries often brought numerous armies into the field.

ſkill

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ſkill and courage. The war was widely diffuſed, and ably ſupported. But the diſcipline of Alexander finally prevailed. By ſurpriſe, by ſtratagem, by the terror of his military engines, which deſtroyed at a diſtance, and by ſuch prompt and ſkilful manœuvres[28] as had never been before ſeen, on the banks of the Apſus[29] and Erigonè, he totally diſperſed this immenſe cloud of Barbarians. Many were ſlain, and many made captive; a remnant, having burnt their city, which they deſpaired being able to defend, ſought refuge among the Taulantian mountains[30].

Rebellion in Greece. Olymp. cxi. 2. A. C. 335.

Meanwhile a report circulated in Greece, that Alexander had periſhed in Illyria; and as men readily *believe* that which their intereſts make them *wiſh*[31], this vague rumour was greedily embraced by the partiſans of Grecian independence. The Athenian demagogues reſumed their uſual boldneſs; the Lacedæmonians already fancied themſelves heading the revolt[32]; but the firſt acts of rebellion were committed by the Thebans, who, having ſecretly recalled their exiles, treacherouſly[33]

[28] Theſe are laboriouſly deſcribed by Arrian, p. 6. who, it muſt be acknowledged, appears ſometimes too fond of diſplaying his ſkill in tactics.

[29] Otherwiſe called the Eordaicus.

[30] Arrian, p. 7.

[31] Ου γινωσκοντες τα οντα, τα μαλιστα καθ' ἡδονην σφισιν εικαζον. "Not knowing the truth, hope regulated their conjectures." Idem, p. 8.

[32] The Lacedæmonians, ſays Arrian, were γνωμαις αφεστηκοτες, "revolted in their minds."

[33] They ſeized them without the garriſon, οὐδεν ὑποτοπησαντας πολεμιον, "ſuſpecting no hoſtility."

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murdered Amyntas and Timolaus, commanders of the Cadmæa, and prepared to expel the Macedonian garrison from that fortress.

Destruction of Thebes. Olymp. cxi. 2. A. C. 335.

Alexander, when apprised of these proceedings, relinquished the pursuit of the Barbarians, descended by rapid marches along the western frontier of Macedon, traversed Thessaly, entered Bœotia, and in the space of fourteen days after his receiving the first news of the rebellion, besieged and demolished Thebes. The decisive boldness of this measure has been highly extolled by historians, because nothing could have a more direct tendency to quash the seditious spirit of the Greeks, than the rapid punishment of Thebes, which at once filled the neighbouring cities with pity and terror. A spectacle of that dreadful kind was necessary, it has been said, to secure the future tranquillity of Greece and Macedon, and to enable Alexander to undertake his Persian expedition, without the danger of being interrupted by rebellions in Europe[34]. But, notwithstanding this

34 Plut. Diodor. Justin. Among the moderns, Mably sur les Grêcs, and the learned author of the Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre, who says, p. 46. "Alexandre devoit assurer sa domination dans la Grêce par quelque coup d'eclat, avant que de passer en Asie; la revolte de Thebes lui presenta une occasion favorable à ses vues" Yet Arrian, whose narrative was copied from the relation of eye-witnesses, expresses, thrice in the same page, the reluctance of Alexander to attack the Thebans, Εκδιδους ετι τοις Θηβαιοις τριβην, ει μετεγνοντες επι τοις κακως εγνωσμενοις, πρεσβευσαιντο παρ' αυτον. And again, Ετι γαρ τοις Θηβαιοις δια φιλιας ελθειν μαλλον τι η δια κινδυνου ηθελε. And still to the same purpose, Αλεξανδρος δε ουδε ως τη πολει προσεβαλεν. Arrian, p. 8.

sagacious

ſagacious reflection, it appears that the deſtruction of Thebes was the effect, not of policy, but of obſtinacy and accident. In approaching that unfortunate city, Alexander repeatedly halted, to allow the inſurgents time to repent of their raſhneſs. The wiſer part of the Thebans propoſed to embrace the opportunity of ſending ambaſſadors to crave his pardon. But the exiles and authors of the ſedition encouraged the multitude to perſevere; and inſtead of ſhewing remorſe for their paſt crimes, ſent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who aſſaulted and ſlew ſeveral of the Macedonian outguards [35].

The occaſion and circumſtances of that event.

Exaſperated by theſe inſults, Perdiccas, commander of an advanced party, attacked the Theban wall, without waiting the orders of Alexander. A breach was ſpeedily effected; the brigade of Perdiccas was followed by that of Amyntas, ſon of Andromenes; but both were ſo warmly received by the enemy, that Alexander ſaw the neceſſity of reinforcing them, leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded and cut off. The Thebans were then repelled in their turn; but ſoon rallying, beat back the aſſailants, and purſued them with diſordered ranks. Alexander then ſeized the deciſive moment of advancing with a cloſe phalanx. His aſſault was irreſiſtible. The Thebans fled amain; and ſuch was their trepidation, that having entered their gates, they neglected to ſhut them againſt the purſuers. The Macedonians, and their Greek auxiliaries, thus ruſhed tumultuouſly into the place.

35 Arrian, p. 8, & ſeqq.

A dread-

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Cruelty of the Greek auxiliaries.

A dreadful ſlaughter enſued. The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Platæans, rejoiced at gaining an opportunity to gratify their implacable reſentment againſt Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, exceeding thirty thouſand in number[36], were either put to the ſword or dragged into captivity. A feeble remnant eſcaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was raſed to the ground; but the citadel was ſtill garriſoned by Macedonian troops, and long maintained as a convenient poſt for overawing the adjacent territory.

A few acts of mercy, owing to Alexander.

The ſeverities exerciſed againſt Thebes were reluctantly permitted by Alexander, at the inſtigation of his Grecian auxiliaries[37]. The few acts of forbearance or mercy, which appeared in this lamentable tranſaction, flowed from the humanity of his own nature. By his particular orders, the houſe and family of Pindar were ſaved from the general deſolation. He commanded likewiſe, that the ſacred families ſhould be ſpared, as well as thoſe connected with Macedon by the ties of hoſpitality; and as he is the only great conqueror who built many more towns than he deſtroyed, he took care that the demolition of Thebes ſhould be immediately followed by the reſtoration of Orchomenus and Platæa. Even the gloomieſt events of his reign were diſtinguiſhed by ſome flaſhes of light,

[36] According to the loweſt computation, Thebes at that time contained above thirty thouſand citizens. Comp. Diodor. Plut. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. xiii. c. vii. Agatharchid. apud Phot. Bibl. 1337.

[37] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 569.

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Heroiſm of Timoclea.

that diſplayed his magnanimity. It happened in the ſack of Thebes, that a band of fierce Thracians broke into the houſe of Timoclea, an illuſtrious Theban matron, the ornament of her ſex. The ſoldiers plundered her houſe; their brutal commander violated her perſon. Having gratified his luſt, he was next ſtimulated by avarice, and demanded her gold and ſilver. She conducted him to a garden, and ſhewed him a well, into which ſhe pretended to have thrown her moſt valuable treaſure. With blind avidity, he ſtooped to graſp it, while the woman, being behind, puſhed him headlong into the ciſtern, and covered him with ſtones. Timoclea was ſeized by the ſoldiers, and carried in chains to Alexander. Her firm gait, and intrepid aſpect, commanded the attention of the conqueror. Having learned her crime, Alexander aſked her, "Who ſhe was, that could venture to commit ſo bold a deed?" "I am," replied ſhe, "the ſiſter of Theagenes, who fell at Chæronæa, fighting againſt Philip in defence of Grecian freedom." Alexander admired both her action and her anſwer, and deſired her to depart free with her children [38]. While Alexander returned towards Macedon, he received many congratulatory embaſſies from the Greeks. Thoſe affected moſt friendſhip in their ſpeeches, who had moſt enmity in their hearts. The Athenians ſent to deprecate his wrath againſt themſelves, and to excuſe their compaſſionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander demanded the perſons of Demoſthenes,

Alexander receives the congratulatory embaſſies of the Greeks.

[38] Plut. de Vit. Alexand. p. 7.

Lycur-

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Lycurgus, Hyperides, and five other orators, to whoſe inflammatory ſpeeches he aſcribed the ſeditious ſpirit that had recently prevailed in Athens. An aſſembly was immediately ſummoned to deliberate on this demand; and a decree unanimouſly paſſed for trying the orators accuſed by Alexander, and for inflicting on them ſuch puniſhment as their offences ſhould appear to merit. This pretended forwardneſs in the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, was highly agreeable to Alexander. The artful decree, which was immediately tranſmitted to him, was rendered ſtill more acceptable, by being delivered by Demades, an avowed friend to Macedon, whom the party of Demoſthenes bribed with five talents to undertake this uſeful ſervice [39]. Amidſt the various embaſſies to the king, the Spartans alone preſerved a ſullen, or magnanimous ſilence. Alexander treated them with real, or well-affected contempt; and, without deigning to require their aſſiſtance, prepared for the greateſt enterpriſe that ever was undertaken by the Grecian confederacy.

Tranſactions in Macedon, previous to Alexander's expedition to the Eaſt. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 334.

The arrival of the army in Macedon was celebrated with all the pomp of an elegant ſuperſtition. A faithful image of the Olympic ſolemnity was exhibited in the ancient city of Ægæ. Continual games and ſacrifices were performed in Dium, during the ſpace of nine days, in honour of the

39 The circumſtances of this tranſaction are differently related by all the authors who mention it. Compare Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 498. Æſchin. in Cteſiphont. Plut. in Vit. Alexand. & Arrian, l. i. p. 11. In military affairs Arrian's authority ſtands unrivalled; but Æſchines, a contemporary orator, muſt have been better informed concerning the civil tranſactions of the Athenians.

Muſes.

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Muſes. Alexander entertained at his table the ambaſſadors of the Grecian ſtates, together with the principal officers of his army, whether Greeks or Macedonians. In the interval of public repreſentations, he diſcourſed with his confidential friends concerning the important expedition which chiefly occupied his thoughts. Parmenio and Antipater, the moſt reſpected of his father's counſellors, exhorted him not to march into the Eaſt, until by marriage, and the birth of a ſon, he had provided a ſucceſſor to the monarchy. But the ardent patriotiſm of Alexander diſdained every perſonal conſideration. He remembered that he was elected general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father [40].

Alexander croſſes the Helleſpont with his army. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

Having entruſted to Antipater the affairs of Greece and Macedon, and committed to that general an army of above twenty thouſand men [41], to maintain domeſtic tranquillity in thoſe countries, he departed early in the ſpring, at the head of above five thouſand horſe, and ſomewhat more than thirty thouſand infantry [42]. In twenty days march, he arrived at Seſtos, on the Helleſpont. From thence the army was conveyed to Aſia, in an hundred and ſixty gallies, and probably a ſtill greater number of tranſports. The armament landed without oppoſition on the Aſiatic coaſt; the Per-

[40] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 499.

[41] Diodorus, who enters into ſome detail on this ſubject, ſays, twelve thouſand infantry, and eleven thouſand five hundred cavalry.

[42] Arrian, p. 12.

ſians,

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ſians, though long ago appriſed of the intended invaſion, having totally neglected the defence of their weſtern frontier.

State of the Perſian empire.

The cauſes of this negligence reſulted, in ſome degree perhaps, from the character of the prince, but ſtill more from that of the nation. Codomannus had been raiſed by aſſaſſinations and intrigues to the throne of Perſia, about the ſame time that Alexander ſucceeded his father Philip. The firſt year of his reign had been employed in ſtifling domeſtic rebellion, in ſecuring, and afterwards in diſplaying, the fruits of victory. This prince aſſumed the appellation of Darius, but could not recal the principles or manners which diſtinguiſhed his countrymen, during the reign of the firſt monarch of that name. In the ſpace of about two hundred and thirty years, the Perſians had been continually degenerating from the virtues which characteriſe a poor and warlike nation, without acquiring any of thoſe arts and improvements which uſually attend peace and opulence. Their empire, as extended by Darius Hyſtaſpes, ſtill embraced the moſt valuable portion of Aſia and Africa. The revenue paid in money was ſtill eſtimated, as during the reign of that monarch, at fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Euboeic talents. Immenſe treaſures had been accumulated in Damaſcus, Arbela, Suſa, Perſepolis, Ecbatan, and other great cities of the empire. The revenue paid in kind cannot be appreciated; but ſuch was the extraordinary opulence of this great monarchy, that the conqueſts of Alexander are ſuppoſed to have

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have given him an income of ſixty millions ſterling[43]; a ſum which will admit allowance for exaggeration, and ſtill appear ſufficiently great.

Circumſtances which prepared it for deſtruction.

Although the extravagance and vices of Suſa, Babylon, and other imperial cities, correſponded to the extent and wealth of the monarchy, yet the Perſians were prepared for deſtruction rather by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces, moreover, had ceaſed to maintain any regular communication with the capital, or with each other. The ſtanding military force proved inſufficient to keep in awe the diſtant ſatraps, or viceroys. The ties of a common religion and language, or the ſenſe of a public intereſt, had never united into one ſyſtem this diſcordant maſs of nations, which was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. When to theſe unfavourable circumſtances we join the reflection, that under the younger Cyrus, twelve thouſand Greeks baffled the arms, and almoſt divided the empire of Perſia, we ſhall not find much reaſon to admire the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking his eaſtern expedition; unleſs we are at the ſame time appriſed, that Darius was deemed a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Perſian ſubjects, and aſſiſted by the valour of fifty thouſand Greek mercenaries[44].

Deliberation of the Perſian ſatraps.

Having arrived in Aſia, Alexander, than whom none ever employed more ſucceſsfully the power of ſuperſtition[45], confirmed the confidence of his fol-

43 Juſtin. xiii. 1. 44 Arrian, Diodorus, and Curtius.
45 Plut. Curtius, and Arrian, paſſim.

lowers

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lowers by many auſpicious predictions and prodigies. While, with every military precaution, he purſued his march along the coaſt, Arſites, Spithridates, Memnon, and other governors of the maritime provinces, aſſembled in the town of Zeleia, diſtant ſixty miles from the Helleſpont. They had neglected to oppoſe the invaſion by their ſuperior fleet; they had allowed the enemy to encamp, unmoleſted, on their coaſts; fear now compelled them to reluctant union; but jealouſy made them reject the moſt reaſonable plan of defence.

Judicious advice of Memnon,

This was propoſed by Memnon the Rhodian, the ableſt general in the ſervice of Darius. He obſerved the danger of reſiſting the Macedonian infantry, who were ſuperior in number, and encouraged by the preſence of their king. That the invaders, fiery and impetuous, were now animated by hope, but would loſe courage on the firſt diſappointment. Deſtitute of magazines and reſources, their ſafety depended on ſudden victory. It was the intereſt of the Perſians, on the other hand, to protract the war, above all to avoid a general engagement. Without riſking the event of a battle, they had other means to check the progreſs of the invaders. For this purpoſe, they ought to trample down the corn with their numerous cavalry, deſtroy all other fruits of the ground, and deſolate the whole country, without ſparing the towns and villages. Some rejected this advice, as unbecoming the dignity of Perſia[46]; Arſites, governor of Leſſer

rejected.

[46] Ἀναξιον της Περσων μεγαλαψυχιας, "Unworthy the magnanimity of Perſia." Diodor. p. 501.

Phrygia,

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Phrygia, declared with indignation, that he would never permit the property of *his* ſubjects to be ravaged with impunity. Theſe ſentiments the more eaſily prevailed, becauſe many ſuſpected the motives of Memnon. It was determined, therefore, by this council of princes, to aſſemble their reſpective forces with all poſſible expedition, and to encamp on the eaſtern bank of the Granicus, a river (midway between Zeleia and the Helleſpont) which, iſſuing from Mount Ida, falls into the Propontis.

Alexar prepare to paſs the Granicus. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

The ſcouts of Alexander having brought him intelligence of the enemy's deſign, he immediately advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line[47], the cavalry on the wings, the waggons and baggage in the rear. The advanced guard, conſiſting of horſemen armed with pikes, and five hundred light infantry, the whole commanded by Hegelochus, were detached to examine the fords of the Granicus, and to obſerve the diſpoſition of the enemy. They returned with great celerity, to acquaint Alexander, that the Perſians were advantageouſly poſted on the oppoſite bank, their horſe amounting to twenty thouſand, and their foreign mercenaries, drawn up on the ſlope of a riſing ground, behind the cavalry, ſcarcely leſs numerous. Notwithſtanding this alarming intelligence, the young

47 The διπλη φαλαγξ is explained in this ſenſe by Ælian and Arrian. In ordinary caſes the phalanx marched by its flank, that is, with a front of ſixteen men. The διπλη φαλαγξ, therefore, contained a front of thirty-two men.

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prince determined to paſs the river. Having advanced within ſight of the hoſtile ranks, his horſe ſpread to the right and left, the maſſy column of infantry opened, and the whole formed along the bank in order of battle. The phalanx, divided into eight ſections, compoſed the main body, which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left.

Rejects the cautious counſels of Parmenio.

While Alexander made theſe diſpoſitions, the cautious Parmenio approached, and remonſtrated againſt paſſing the Granicus in the face of an enemy. The river, he obſerved, was deep and full of eddies; its banks abrupt and craggy; "it would be impoſſible, therefore, to march the Macedonians in front, and if they advanced in columns, their flanks muſt be expoſed naked and defenceleſs. To try ſuch dangerous manœuvres ſeemed unneceſſary in the preſent juncture, becauſe the Barbarians would certainly quit their ſtation in the night, rather than remain encamped in the neighbourhood of ſo formidable an army." Theſe prudential conſiderations prevailed not with Alexander, who declared that, in the firſt conflict, the Macedonians muſt act with equal promptitude and vigour, and perform ſomething worthy of the terror which they bore. Saying this, he ſprung on his horſe, aſſumed the command of the right wing, and committed the left to Parmenio.

Battle of the Granicus. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

Animated by the hope of ſoon cloſing with the enemy, he diſdained to employ his military engines. The baliſtas and catapults, by which, in a ſimilar ſituation, he had repelled the Taulantii,

were

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were rejected as tedious or ineffectual. Alexander diſtributed his orders; a dreadful ſilence enſued; the hoſtile armies beheld each other with reſentment or terror. This ſolemn pauſe was interrupted by the Macedonian trumpet, which, on a ſignal given by Alexander, reſounded from every part of the line. His brother Ptolemy, as had been previouſly regulated, then rode forth at the head of a ſquadron of cuiraſſiers [48], followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas. While theſe troops boldly entered the Granicus, Alexander likewiſe advanced with the choſen cavalry on the right wing, followed by the archers and Agrians. In paſſing the river, both Alexander and Ptolemy led their troops obliquely down the current, to prevent, as much as poſſible, the Perſians from attacking them in flank, as they ſucceſſively reached the ſhore. The Perſian cavalry behaved with courage; the firſt ſquadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the ſtream. But Alexander, who animated the *companions* [49] with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle, when he obtained an opportunity of fighting. In the equeſtrian engagement which followed, the Macedonians owed much to their ſkil-

[48] I have uſed this word to expreſs thoſe troops which the Greeks called *Cataphracts*, from the completeneſs of their defenſive armour. Milton mentions them in Samſon Agoniſtes,

"Archers and ſlingers, Cataphracts and ſpears."

[49] The eight ſquadrons of choſen cavalry, which were of that kind called Cataphracts, were honoured with the name of Companions and friends of the king. Arrian & Diodor. paſſim.

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ful evolutions and diſcipline [50]; ſtill more to their ſtrength and couarge; and not a little to the excellence of their weapons, which being made of the cornel-tree [51], far ſurpaſſed the brittle javelins of the enemy.

Perſonal proweſs of Alexander and the Macedonian captains.

Meanwhile Parmenio croſſed the Granicus, at the head of the left wing, with equal ſucceſs, but unequal glory, becauſe Alexander had already proved, by his example, that the difficulty might be overcome, which would have otherwiſe appeared unſurmountable. The attention of the enemy was ſo deeply engaged by the ſucceſſive attacks of the cavalry, that they ſeem not to have made much oppoſition to the paſſage of the phalanx. But before this powerful body of infantry had croſſed the river, the Macedonian horſe had already reaped the faireſt honours of the field. Alexander animated them by his preſence, and, after performing all the duties of a great general, diſplayed ſuch perſonal acts of proweſs as will be more readily admired than believed by the modern reader. But in the cloſe combats of antiquity, the forces, when once thoroughly engaged, might be ſafely abandoned to the direction of their own reſentment and courage, while the commanders diſplayed the peculiar accompliſhments to which they had been

[50] They derived great advantages, particularly, from the light infantry intermixed with their ſquadrons. The targeteers and Agrians proved extremely uſeful in helping the Macedonians to keep off the Perſian cavalry, which, when too near, hindered them from the proper uſe of their lances.

[51] At myrtus validis haſtilibus & bona bello
Cornus. VIRG. GEORG. ii. v. 447.

trained

trained from their youth, in the more conſpicuous parts of the field. Alexander was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the brightneſs of his armour, and the admirable alacrity of his attendants. The braveſt of the Perſian nobles impatiently waited his approach. He darted into the midſt of them, and fought till he broke his ſpear. Having demanded a new weapon from Aretes, his maſter of horſe, Aretes ſhewed him his own ſpear, which likewiſe was broken. Demaratus the Corinthian ſupplied the king with a weapon. Thus armed, he rode up, and aſſaulted Mithridates, ſon-in-law of Darius, who exulted before the hoſtile ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himſelf ſtruck by Ræſaces with a hatchet. His helmet ſaved his life. He pierced the breaſt of Ræſaces; but a new danger threatened him from the ſcimitar of Spithridates. The inſtrument of death already deſcended on his head, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell with the graſped weapon.

The Perſians defeated.

The heroiſm of Alexander animated the valour of the *companions*, and the enemy firſt fled where the king commanded in perſon. In the left wing, the Grecian cavalry muſt have behaved with diſtinguiſhed merit, ſince the Perſians had begun on every ſide to give way before the Macedonian infantry had completely paſſed the river[52]. The ſtern

[52] Guiſchardt, p. 208. ſays, "Auſſitôt que la phalange fut en état d'agir contre l'ennemie, avec tout ſon front heriſſé de piques, la victoire ceſſa d'être douteuſe." It appears not, however, that the

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ſtern aſpect of the phalanx, ſhining in ſteel and briſtling with ſpears, confirmed the victory. Above a thouſand Perſian horſe were ſlain in the purſuit. The foot, conſiſting chiefly in Greek mercenaries, ſtill continued in their firſt poſition, not firm, but inactive, petrified by aſtoniſhment, not ſteady through reſolution [53]. While the phalanx attacked them in front, the victorious cavalry aſſailed their flanks. Surrounded on all ſides, they fell an eaſy prey; two thouſand ſurrendered priſoners; the reſt all periſhed, unleſs a few ſtragglers perchance lurked among the ſlain.

Loſs on both ſides.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to moſt of the Perſian commanders. Arſites, the chief adviſer of the engagement, died in deſpair by his own hand. The generals Niphates and Petenes, Omares leader of the mercenaries, Spithridates ſatrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes governor of Cap-

the phalanx at all acted againſt the Perſian cavalry. The battle of Granicus was entirely an equeſtrian engagement, as had been propheſied to Alexander by his nameſake, a prieſt of Minerva in the Troade. See Diodor. l. xvii. p. 571.

53 Εκπληξει μαλλον τι τη παραλογη, η λογισμῳ, βεβαιῳ. Arrian. It might be ſuſpected that the Greek mercenaries were not very hearty in the Perſian cauſe, and had delayed declaring themſelves till they beheld the iſſue of the equeſtrian engagement. This is conjectured by Guiſchardt in his admirable Memoires Militaires, p. 208. But the fidelity of their countrymen to Darius on all ſubſequent occaſions, as well as the ſevere treatment they met with in the preſent battle, ſeem ſufficient to remove that diſhonourable ſuſpicion. Their conduct, ſeemingly unaccountable, is aſcribed, by Arrian, to their aſtoniſhment, that Alexander's cavalry ſhould have paſſed the Granicus, and repelled the Perſian horſe, which was four times more numerous.

padocia,

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padocia, Mithridates ſon-in-law of Darius, and Arbupales ſon of Artaxerxes, were numbered among the ſlain. Such illuſtrious names might lead us to ſuſpect, that the Perſians were ſtill more numerous than Arrian[54] repreſents them; and, notwithſtanding the nature of ancient weapons and tactics, which rendered every battle a rout, and commonly prevented the retreat of the vanquiſhed, it is ſcarcely to be believed, that in ſuch an important engagement, Alexander ſhould have loſt only eighty-five horſemen, and thirty light infantry[55]. Of the former, twenty-five belonged to the royal band of Companions. By command of Alexander, their ſtatues were formed by the art of his admired Lyſippus[56], and erected in the Macedonian city of Dium.

Humanity and prudence of Alexander.

This important victory enabled Alexander to diſplay both his humanity and his prudence. He declared the parents and children of the deceaſed thenceforth exempted from every ſpecies of tribute[57]. He carefully viſited the wounded, at-

54 Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 572. makes them amount to one hundred and ten thouſand. Juſtin is quite extravagant. The Perſians, he ſays, were ſix hundred thouſand.

55 Others diminiſhed the loſs to thirty-five horſemen and nine foot ſoldiers. Ariſtobul. apud Plut. in Vit. Alexand.

56 Arrian ſays, ὁσπερ και Αλεξανδρου μονος προκριθεις ἐποιει. "Who was alone preferred to make the image of Alexander." This, doubtleſs, increaſed the honour conferred on the Companions. Arrian would have ſpoke more accurately, had he ſaid, "to caſt the figure of Alexander in bronze." Other artiſts repreſented him in marble, in gems, medals, &c. of which hereafter.

57 Arrian diſtinguiſhes τῳ σωματι λειτουργιας και κατα τας κτησεις εισφοριας, perſonal ſervices; and contributions, in proportion to their property.

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tentively aſked how each of them had received harm, and heard with patience and commendation their much-boaſted exploits. The Perſian commanders were interred; and the Greeks, both officers and ſoldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a puniſhment for bearing arms againſt the cauſe of their country. But even this ſeverity Alexander ſoftened by a very ſeaſonable compliment to the Athenians, whoſe city he preferred to be the repoſitory of his trophies and renown. Immediately after the battle, he ſent three hundred ſuits of Perſian armour, as dedications to Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent preſent was inſcribed with the following words: "Gained by Alexander, ſon of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians), from the Barbarians of Aſia." It is remarkable, that on this occaſion he omits mention of the Macedonians, whether becauſe he wiſhed them to be comprehended under the name of Greeks; or becauſe, in the Perſian war, he always affected rather to avenge the cauſe of Greece, than to gratify his own ambition; or, finally, that the Greeks being thus excluſively aſſociated to his honours, might thenceforth continue zealous in making new levies for his ſervice.

Immediate conſequence of the victory.

The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conqueſt of Ionia, Caria, Phrygia; in a word, all the Aſiatic provinces weſt of the river Halys, which had anciently formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns ſurrendered at his approach. Sardis, the ſplendid capital

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pital of Crœſus, opened its gates to a deliverer, and once more obtained the privilege of being governed by its ancient laws, after reluctantly enduring, above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Perſia. The Grecian cities on the coaſt were delivered from the burden of tribute and the oppreſſion of garriſons; and, under the auſpices of a prince, who admired their ancient glory in arts and arms, reſumed the enjoyment of their hereditary freedom. During the Perſian expedition of Alexander, the Epheſians were ſtill employed in rebuilding their temple, which had been ſet on fire by Heroſtratus, twenty years before that period, and on the ſame night, it is ſaid, which gave birth to the deſtined conqueror of the Eaſt. Alexander encouraged their pious and honourable undertaking; and, in order to accelerate its progreſs, commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Perſians, to be appropriated to the temple of Diana [58].

Siege of Miletus and Halicarnaſſus.

Miletus and Halicarnaſſus alone retarded the progreſs of the conqueror. The latter place, commanded by Memnon the Rhodian, made a memorable defence. Alexander had ſcarcely ſat down before it, when the garriſon, conſiſting of Greeks and Perſians, ſallied forth, and maintained a deſperate conflict. Having repelled them with much difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, which the beſieged, with incredible diligence, had drawn round their wall. This being effected,

[58] Comp. Arrian. p. 18. & Strab. p. 949.

he

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he advanced wooden towers, on which the Macedonians erected their battering engines, and prepared to aſſault the enemy on equal ground. But a nocturnal ſally attacked theſe preparations; a ſecond engagement was fought with ſtill greater fury than the firſt; three hundred Macedonians were wounded, darkneſs preventing their uſual precaution in guarding their bodies[59].

Bold adventure of two Macedonian ſoldiers.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnaſſus, which had ſo obſtinately reſiſted ſkill and courage, was on the point of yielding to raſhneſs and accident. The battalion of Perdiccas happened to be poſted on that ſide of the wall, which looked towards Miletus. Two ſoldiers, belonging to this corps, while they ſupped together in their tent, boaſted their military exploits; each, as uſual, preferring his own. Wine heated their emulation. They ruſhed forth to aſſault the wall of Halicarnaſſus, animated leſs with the mad hope of victory, than with an ambition to diſplay their reſpective proweſs. The centinels perceived their audacity, and prepared to repel them; but they killed the firſt men who approached, and threw javelins at others who followed them. Before their boldneſs was overwhelmed by numbers, many ſoldiers belonging to the ſame battalion advanced to their relief. The Halicarnaſſians, alſo, haſtened to the defence of their friends; a ſharp conflict enſued; the garriſon was repelled; the wall attacked; two towers and the intervening curtain thrown down; and had

59 Arrian, p. 20.

greater

greater numbers joined in the aſſault, the town muſt have been taken by ſtorm[60].

Halicarnaſſus taken and reluctantly demoliſhed. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

The humanity of Alexander rendered him unwilling to come to that extremity. But the extraordinary ſucceſs of ſuch an unpremeditated enterpriſe, engaged him to ply the walls with new vigour. The defence was as obſtinate as before; two deſperate ſallies were made, and repelled with conſummate bravery. Alexander's tenderneſs for the Halicarnaſſians prevented him from entering the place with an enraged and licentious ſoldiery. He therefore recalled his troops in the moment of victory, hoping that the beſieged would finally ſurrender, and thus ſave their lives and properties. From the various breaches in the walls, and the numbers who had periſhed, or been wounded, in repeated conflicts, Memnon and his colleagues perceived, that much longer reſiſtance was impoſſible. In this emergency they diſplayed the ſame deciſive boldneſs which had appeared in every part of their defence. Having ſummoned the braveſt of their adherents, they, in the night-time, ſet fire to a wooden tower, which they had erected for defence againſt the ſhocks of the enemy's engines, and for protection to their arſenal and magazines, and eſcaped to two neighbouring caſtles of great ſtrength. About midnight, Alexander perceived the raging flames, and immediately ſent a detachment to puniſh thoſe who had excited, or who fomented, the conflagration; but with ſtrict

[60] Arrian, p. 22.

orders

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orders to ſpare ſuch of the townſmen as were found in their houſes. Next day, he examined the caſtles, and perceived that they could not be taken without much loſs of time; but that, independent of the town, they were of themſelves of little value; a circumſtance which obliged him, reluctantly, to demoliſh Halicarnaſſus, that it might never thenceforth ſerve as a retreat to his enemies[61].

Alexander commits the government of Caria to Ada.

The inactive ſeaſon of the year was employed by Alexander in ſecuring and improving his advantages. The inferior cities were committed to the diſcretion of his lieutenants; the king in perſon viſited his more important conqueſts; and few places were honoured with his preſence without experiencing his bounty. Before leaving Caria, where the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus long detained his impatient activity, he committed the adminiſtration to Ada, the hereditary governeſs of that province. Ada was the ſiſter, and the wife of Hidrieus, on whoſe deceaſe ſhe was entitled to reign, both by the Carian laws and thoſe of Upper Aſia, where female ſucceſſion had been eſtabliſhed ever ſince the age of Semiramis. But the great king, with the uſual caprice of a deſpot, had rejected the juſt claim of Ada, and ſeated a pretender on her tributary throne. The injured princeſs, however, ſtill maintained poſſeſſion of the ſtrongly fortified city Alinda. When Alexander appeared in Caria, Ada haſtened to meet him, addreſſed him by the name of ſon, and voluntarily ſurrendered to

[61] Arrian, p. 23.

him

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him Alinda. The king neither rejected her preſent, nor declined her friendſhip; and, as he always repaid favours with intereſt, he committed to her, at his departure, the government of the whole province, and left a body of three thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, to ſupport her authority.

His judicious plan of war.

The meaſures of Alexander were equally deciſive and prudent. The Perſian fleet, ſupplied by Egypt, Phœnicia, and the maritime provinces of Lower Aſia, four times out-numbered his own, which, ſmall as it was, ſtill appeared too expenſive for his treaſury. Alexander determined to diſcharge it, declaring to his lieutenants, that, by conquering the land, he would render himſelf maſter of the ſea, ſince every harbour that ſurrendered to him muſt diminiſh the naval reſources of the enemy[62]. Agreeably to this judicious plan of conqueſt, he purſued his journey through the ſouthern provinces of the Aſiatic peninſula, while Parmenio traverſed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. At the ſame time Cleander was diſpatched into Greece to raiſe new levies; and ſuch ſoldiers as had married ſhortly before the expedition, were ſent home to winter with their wives; a meaſure which extremely endeared Alexander to the army, and enſured the utmoſt alacrity of his European ſubjects, in furniſhing ſupplies towards the enſuing campaign.

[62] It will appear in the ſequel how faithfully Alexander adhered to this plan of war, which kept open his communication with Greece and Macedon, and enabled him to purſue, with ſecurity, his conqueſts in the Eaſt.

Accom-

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The arts by which he ſecured his conquests.

Accompanied by ſuch winning arts, the valour and prudence of Alexander ſeemed worthy to govern the world. His conduct, perhaps, often proceeded from the immediate impulſe of ſentiment; but it could not have been more ſubſervient to his ambition, had it been invariably directed by the deepeſt policy. After the deciſive battle of the Granicus, he experienced little obſtinacy of reſiſtance from the numerous forts and garriſons in Lower Aſia. The tributary princes and ſatraps readily ſubmitted to a milder and more magnanimous maſter; and the Grecian colonies on the coaſt eagerly eſpouſed the intereſt of a prince who, on all occaſions, avowed his partiality for their favourite inſtitutions. In every province or city which he conquered, he reſtored to the Aſiatics their hereditary laws; to the Greeks, their beloved democracy. While he allowed them to aſſume the forms of independent government, he was careful to bridle the animoſity of domeſtic faction. Into whatever country he marched, he encouraged uſeful induſtry, and alleviated public burdens. His taſte and his piety alike prompted him to repair the ſacred and venerable remains of antiquity. He conſidered the Barbarians, not as ſlaves, but as ſubjects; the Greeks, not as ſubjects, but allies; and both perceived in his government ſuch moderation and equity as they had never experienced either from the deſpotiſm of Perſia, or from the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta [63].

[63] Compare Plut. in Alexand. Curtius & Arrian, paſſim; & Thucydid. Xenoph. Iſocrat. & Diodor.

Having

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Singular felicity of Alexander's march from Phaſelis to Perga.

Having received the ſubmiſſion of Xanthus, Patara, Phaſelis, and above thirty other towns or ſea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, probably for the ſake of greater expedition, divided the corps under his immediate command. A conſiderable detachment traverſed the Lycian and Pamphilian mountains, while the king in perſon purſued the ſtill more dangerous track, leading along the ſea-coaſt from Phaſelis to Perga. On this foaming ſhore, the ſea commonly beats againſt the rocks, and renders the paſſage impracticable, unleſs when the waves are repelled by a ſtrong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from the ſouth. Yet he advanced without fear, confiding in his fortune. His troops cheerfully followed him, encouraged by many artful prodigies[64] which announced ſucceſs to his undertaking. The event which next happened, was well fitted to ſtrengthen their credulity, and confirm their implicit obedience. Before they had reached the

64 While Alexander deliberated whether he ſhould march forwards to attack Darius, a meaſure which promiſed glory and plunder to his troops, or proceed along the ſea-coaſt, and reduce the maritime cities, which would prevent the enemy from profiting of his abſence in Upper Aſia, to conquer Greece or Macedon with their fleet, a fountain near the city Xanthus in Lycia boiled up, and threw out a copper-plate, engraved with ancient characters, ſignifying that the time was come when the Perſian empire ſhould be overthrown by the Greeks. Plutarch adds, τουτοις επαρθεις, ηπειγετο την παραλιαν ανακαθηρασθαι. "Encouraged by this prodigy, he haſtened to ſubdue the coaſt." It would perhaps have been more worthy of an hiſtorian to ſay, "Encouraged by this prodigy, the Greeks and Macedonians readily obeyed the commands of their prudent, not leſs than valiant general."

main

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main difficulties of the paſs, the ſouth wind gradually ceaſed; a briſk gale ſprang up from the north; the ſea retired; and their march thus became alike eaſy and expeditious. The authentic evidence of Arrian explains the marvellous in this occurrence, which Joſephus, with no leſs indecency than folly, compares with the paſſage of the Iſraelites over the Red Sea. Yet even the philoſophical Arrian acknowledges, that the many concurring inſtances of good fortune in the life of Alexander, ſeemed to be produced by the immediate interpoſition of divine power, which, in effecting an important revolution in the Eaſtern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of men, ſubſervient to the ſecret purpoſes of its providence.

In proceeding eaſtward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambaſſadors from Aſpendus, the principal city and ſea-port of Pamphylia. The Aſpendians offered to ſurrender their city, but entreated, that they might not be burdened with a garriſon. Alexander granted their requeſt, on condition of their raiſing fifty talents to pay his ſoldiers, and delivering to him the horſes which they reared as a tribute for Darius. The ambaſſadors accepted theſe terms; but their countrymen, who were diſtinguiſhed by their ambition and rapacity, ſtill more than by their commerce and their wealth, diſcovered no inclination to fulfil them. Alexander was informed of their treachery while he examined the walls of Syllius, another ſtrong-hold of Pamphylia. He immediately marched towards Aſpendus,

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dus, the greater part of which was ſituate on a high and ſteep rock, waſhed by the river Eurymedon. Several ſtreets, however, were likewiſe built on the plain, ſurrounded only by a ſlight wall. At the approach of Alexander, the inhabitants of the lower part of the town aſcended the mountain. Alexander entered the place, and encamped within the walls. The Aſpendians, alarmed by the apprehenſion of a ſiege, intreated him to accept the former conditions. He commanded them to deliver the horſes, as agreed on; to pay, inſtead of fifty, an hundred talents; and to ſurrender their principal citizens as ſecurities, that they would thenceforth obey the governor ſet over them; pay an annual tribute to Macedon; and ſubmit to arbitration a diſpute concerning ſome lands, which they were accuſed of having unjuſtly wreſted from their neighbours [65].

He puniſhes the treachery of Aſpendus.

Having chaſtiſed the inſolence and treachery of Aſpendus, Alexander determined to march into Phrygia, that he might join forces with Parmenio, whom he had commanded to meet him in that country. The new levies from Greece and Macedon were likewiſe ordered to aſſemble in the ſame province; from which it was intended, early in the ſpring, to proceed eaſtward, and atchieve ſtill more important conqueſts. To reach the ſouthern frontier of Phrygia, Alexander was under a neceſſity of traverſing the inhoſpitable mountains of the warlike Piſidians. Amidſt thoſe rocks and faſtneſſes, the Macedonians

Alexander enters Phrygia. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

[65] Arrian, p. 26.

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loſt ſeveral brave men; but the undiſciplined fury, and unarmed courage, of the Piſidians was unable to check the progreſs of Alexander. The city of Gordium in Phrygia was appointed for the general rendezvous. This place is diſtant about ſeventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician ſea; and was famous, in remote antiquity, as the principal reſidence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief ſeat of their opulence and grandeur[66]. Alexander had not long arrived in that place, when a deſire ſeized him of aſcending to the ancient caſtle or palace of Gordius, and of beholding the famous knot on his chariot, which was believed to involve the fate of Aſia. Gordius, as the ſtory went, was a man of ſlender fortune among the ancient Phrygians, who had but a ſmall piece of land, and two yokes of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon. It happened to Gordius, while he was one day ploughing, that an eagle alighted on his yoke, and ſat on it till evening. Alarmed by the prodigy, Gordius had recourſe to the Telmeſſians, a people inhabiting the loftieſt mountains[67] in Piſidia, and celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their ſkill in augury. At the firſt village of the Telmeſſians, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain, to whom having communicated his errand, ſhe ordered him to aſcend the

His adventure at Gordium.

66 See vol. i. c. vii. p. 290.

67 Arrian, p. 27. calls it υπερυψηλον, και παντη αποτομον. "Exceedingly high, and every where abrupt." But in Gordius's time, at leaſt, the Telmeſſians muſt have poſſeſſed ſome villages on the plain. See Arrian, p. 30.

hill, and there ſacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius intreated her to accompany him, that the ſacrifice might be performed in due form. She obeyed. Gordius took her to wife. She bore him a ſon, Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was diſtinguiſhed by his beauty and valour. It ſhould ſeem that the father of Midas had, in conſequence of his marriage, ſettled among the Telmeſſians, with whoſe arts his ſon would naturally become acquainted. The Phrygians, at that time, were haraſſed by cruel ſeditions; they conſulted an oracle, who told them, that a chariot ſhould ſoon bring them a king, who would appeaſe their tumults. While the aſſembly ſtill deliberated on the anſwer given them by the oracle, Midas arrived in his chariot[68], accompanied by his parents. The appearance of Midas juſtified the prediction, and announced him worthy of royalty. The Phrygians elected him king; their ſeditions ceaſed; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, conſecrated his father's chariot, and ſuſpended it by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, the knot of which was ſo nicely tied, that no eye could preceive where it began or ended. Whether Alexander untied, or cut the knot, is left uncertain by hiſtorians[69]; but all agree that his followers retired with

[68] The Greek word ἅμαξα expreſſes either a chariot or a waggon. Perhaps neither the name, nor the thing, were then diſtinguiſhed in Phrygia. Curtius tells us, this ἅμαξα was "cultu haud ſane a vilioribus vulgatiſque uſu abhorrens," l. iii. c. i. p. 10.

[69] Curtius, l. iii. c. i. ſays, he cut it with his ſword. Plutarch ſays he untied it. Vit. Alexand. p. 1236. Arrian gives both accounts;

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with complete conviction that he had fulfilled the oracle, A ſeaſonable ſtorm of thunder confirmed their credulity[70]; and the belief, that their maſter was deſtined to be lord of Aſia, could not fail to facilitate that event.

Treachery of Alexander, the ſon of Æropus.

The rapid progreſs of Alexander, and his continual exertions during that ſeaſon of the year when armies are little accuſtomed to keep the field, tends to heighten our ſurpriſe at the inactivity of Darius, an ambitious prince, who had ſignaliſed his valour againſt the fierceſt nations of Aſia. But Darius, corrupted by the honours of royalty, employed very different weapons againſt Alexander, from thoſe by which the champion of Ochus had defeated the warlike chief of the Carduſians[71]. Inſtead of oppoſing the invader in the field, he hoped to deſtroy him by the arm of an aſſaſſin. Many traitors were ſuborned for this infamous purpoſe, but none with greater proſpect of ſucceſs than Alexander, the ſon of Æropus. This man owed his life to the clemency of the ſon of Philip, when his brothers Heromenes and Arrabæus were condemned as acceſſary to the murder of that prince. He was numbered among the companions of Alexander, and had recently been entruſted with the command of the Theſſalian cavalry, after the

counts; and the latter on the authority of Ariſtobulus, which is therefore the more probable.

70 Arrian, p. 31.

71 Darius killed a warrior of that nation who challenged the braveſt of the Perſians, to ſingle combat. This exploit gained him the government of Armenia, and made him be afterwards deemed worthy of the Perſian throne. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 565.

nomina-

nomination of Calas, who held that high office, to the government of Phrygia. The promiſe of ten thouſand talents, and of the kingdom of Macedon, obliterated his gratitude and ſeduced his allegiance. But his treaſon eſcaped not the vigilance of Parmenio [72], who communicated the intelligence to his maſter, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Rhoſelis. By the ſame faithful miniſter, the unworthy ſon of Æropus was ſeized, and committed to ſafe cuſtody.

The army of Darius marches from Upper Aſia.

Darius, without deſiſting from his intrigues, finally had recourſe to arms. His troops were aſſembled in the plains of Babylon. They conſiſted of an hundred thouſand Perſians, of whom thirty thouſand were cavalry. The Medes ſupplied almoſt half that number, and the Armenians almoſt as many as the Medes. The Barcani, the Hyrcanians, the inhabitants of the Caſpian ſhores, and nations more obſcure or more remote, ſent their due proportion of cavalry and infantry for this immenſe army, which, including thirty thouſand Greek mercenaries in the Perſian ſervice, is ſaid

72 According to Arrian, p. 25. a ſwallow ſhared the honour with Parmenio. While Alexander was aſleep at mid-day, the ſwallow hovered around his head, perching ſometimes on one ſide of his couch, and ſometimes on another. Its inceſſant chattering rouſed the king from ſleep: but being exceedingly fatigued, he gently removed the bird with his hand. Inſtead of endeavouring to eſcape, the ſwallow perched on his head, and ceaſed not being extremely noiſy and troubleſome, till he thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was immediately communicated to Ariſtander the Telmeſſian ſoothſayer, who declared that a conſpiracy was formed againſt the king by one of his domeſtics and friends; but that it would certainly be diſcovered, becauſe the ſwallow is a domeſtic bird, a friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.

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to have amounted to ſix hundred thouſand men. The magnificence of the Perſians had not diminiſhed ſince the days of Xerxes; neither had their military knowledge increaſed. Their muſter was taken by the ſame contrivance employed by that monarch[73]. Ten thouſand men were ſeparated from the reſt, formed into a compact body, and ſurrounded by a paliſade. The whole army, paſſing ſucceſſively into this incloſure, were rather meaſured, than numbered, by their generals. Nothing could exceed the ſplendour that ſurrounded Darius; the trappings of his horſes, the rich materials and nice adjuſtment of his chariot, the profuſion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, veſt, and tiara. The dreſs, and even the armour of his guards, were adorned with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. He was attended by his family, his treaſures, and his concubines, all eſcorted by numerous bands of horſe and foot. His courtiers and generals copied, as uſual, too faithfully, the effeminate manners of their maſter[74].

Alexander paſſes the northern Gate of Cilicia.

While this pageant, for it deſerves not the name of army, ſlowly advanced towards Lower Aſia, Alexander left Gordium, and marched to Ancyra, a city of Galatia. In that place, he received an embaſſy from the Paphlagonians, who ſurrendered to him the ſovereignty of their province, but intreated that his army might not enter their borders.

73 See vol. i. c. ix. p. 419, & ſeqq.

74 Propinquorum, amicorumque, conjuges huic agmini proximæ. Q. Curtius, l. iii. c. iii. & Diodor. l. xvii. p. 580.

He

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He granted their requeſt, and commanded them to obey Calas, ſatrap of Phrygia. Alexander then marched victorious through Cappadocia; and Sabictas being appointed to the adminiſtration of that extenſive province, the army encamped at the diſtance of ſix miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, ſince the memorable expedition performed and deſcribed by Xenophon, retained the name of Cyrus's Camp. Towards the ſouth, the rich plain of Cilicia is waſhed by the ſea, and ſurrounded on three ſides by lofty and almoſt impervious mountains. Arſames, governor of that country, had ſent a body of troops to guard a poſt called the Gates, and the only paſs which leads from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Appriſed of this meaſure, Alexander left Parmenio and the heavy-armed troops in the Camp of Cyrus. At the firſt watch of the night, he led the targeteers, archers, and Agrians, to ſurpriſe the Perſian forces ſtationed at the northern Gate of Cilicia. The Barbarians fled on his approach; and the puſillanimous Arſames, to whom the whole province was entruſted by Darius, prepared to plunder, and then abandon, his own capital of Tarſus. But he had only time to ſave his perſon. The rapidity of Alexander prevented the deſtruction of that city, where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer.

Falls ſick at Tarſus.

At Tarſus, Alexander was detained by a malady, occaſioned by exceſſive fatigue; or, as others ſay, by imprudently bathing, when heated, in the cold waters of the Cydnus, which flows through that

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city, in a clear and rocky channel[75]. Philip the Acarnanian was the only perſon who deſpaired not of his life. While this ſkilful phyſician adminiſtered a draught to his royal patient, a letter came from Parmenio, warning Alexander to beware of Philip, who had been bribed by Darius to poiſon him. Alexander took the potion, and gave Philip the letter; ſo that the phyſician read, while the king drank; a tranſaction which proved either his contempt of death, or his unſhaken confidence in his friends; but which, by the admiration of his contemporaries and poſterity[76], has been conſtrued into a proof of both.

Alexander marches to Mallos.

The ſickneſs of Alexander interrupted not the operations of the army. Parmenio was diſpatched to ſeize the only paſs on Mount Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Aſſyria. The king ſoon followed, having in one day's march reached Anchialos, an ancient city of vaſt extent, and ſurrounded with walls of prodigious thickneſs. The greateſt curioſity of Anchialos was the tomb of Sardanapalus, diſtinguiſhed by the ſtatue of that effeminate tyrant, in the attitude of clapping his hands; and by an Aſſyrian inſcription, breathing the true ſpirit of *modern* Epicuriſm. The original ran in verſe to the following purpoſe: "Sardanapalus, ſon of

75 Curtius gives another reaſon for its exceſſive coldneſs: "Frigidiſſimus quippe nulla riparum amœnitate inumbratus," l. iii. c. iv. From his laboured deſcription of this river, it ſeems as if he imagined *that* water muſt have poſſeſſed very extraordinary qualities, which proved hurtful to Alexander.

76 See Arrian, p. 32. Curtius, l. iii. c. v.

Ana-

Anacyndaraxas, built Anchialos and Tarſus in one day. As to you, ſtranger! eat, drink, and ſport[77], for other human things are not worth *this*," alluding to the clap of his hands[78].

Alexander paſſes the Syrian ſtraits; and Darius, in an oppoſite direction, the defiles of Amanus.

Having arrived at Mallos, an Argive colony at the eaſtern extremity of Cilicia, Alexander learned that Darius lay with his army in the extenſive plain of Sochos, in the province of Comagene, diſtant only two days march from the Cilician frontier. The hoſtile armies were ſeparated by the mountains which divide Cilicia and Syria. Alexander haſtened to paſs the ſtraits called the Syrian Gates, proceeded ſouthwards along the bay of Iſſus, and encamped before the city Mariandrus. At this place he received a very extraordinary piece of intelligence. His delay in Cilicia, which had been occaſioned by ſickneſs, and by the many pious ceremonies[79] with which he gratefully thanked Heaven for his recovery, was aſcribed to very different motives by Darius and his flatterers. That perfidious race, the eternal bane of kings[80], eaſily per-

77 The word tranſlated "ſport," is παιζε in Arrian, p. 32. But that author ſays, the Aſſyrian original had a more laſcivious meaning. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand. tranſlates it αφροδισιαζε, "veneri indulge."

78 Mr. de Guignes, ſo deſervedly celebrated for his Oriental learning, proves this inſcription to be entirely conformable to the ſtyle and manners of the Eaſt. See Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. tom. xxxiv. p. 416, & ſeqq.

79 Proceſſions with lighted torches, ſacrifices to Æſculapius, gymnaſtic and muſical conteſts. Arrian, l. ii. p. 33.

80 Arrian expreſſes this ſentiment with more than his uſual energy: Των κατα ηδονην ζωντων τε και ξυνουσιων επι κακῳ τοις μεν βασιλευσι.

ſuaded

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ſuaded the vain credulity of their maſter, that Alexander ſhunned his approach. The proud reſentment of Darius was exaſperated by the imagined fears of his adverſary; with the impatience of a deſpot he longed to come to action; and not ſuſpecting that Alexander would traverſe the Syrian Gates in ſearch of the enemy, he haſtily determined to paſs, in an oppoſite direction[81], the ſtraits of Amanus, in queſt of Alexander. This fatal meaſure was carried into immediate execution, notwithſtanding the ſtrong repreſentations of Amyntas[82] the Macedonian, and of all Darius's Grecian counſellors[83], who unanimouſly exhorted him to wait the enemy in his preſent advantageous poſition. In the language of antiquity[84], an irreſiſtible fate, which had determined that the Greeks ſhould conquer the Perſians, as the Perſians had the Medes, and the Medes the Aſſyrians, impelled Darius to his ruin. Having paſſed the defiles of Amanus, he directed his march ſouthward to the bay of Iſſus, and took the city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the ſick and wounded Macedonians, who had not been able to follow the army in its expeditious march acroſs the

[81] Theſe movements are explained only by Arrian. Diodorus, Plutarch, and Curtius, not attending to the geography of the country, are inconſiſtent and unintelligible.

[82] Amyntas, though an exile, was not a flatterer. He aſſured Darius, that Alexander would certainly come to any place where the Perſians encamped. Arrian, p. 34.

[83] Ariſtomenes the Pheræan, Bianor the Acarnanian, Thymondas the ſon of Mentor, the Rhodian, and others mentioned by Arrian, paſſim.

[84] Arrian, Plut. Diodor. Curt.

moun-

mountains. The Perſians put theſe unhappy men to death with ſhocking circumſtances of cruelty [85], little thinking that Alexander was now behind, prepared to avenge their fate.

Circumſtances which encouraged the Macedonian army.

That enlightened prince, who could ſcarcely believe the folly of Darius, ſent a ſmall flat-bottomed veſſel to reconnoitre his motions. This veſſel ſpeedily returned to Alexander, and ſaluted him with the agreeable news that his enemies were now in his hands. Having ſummoned an aſſembly, the king forgot none of thoſe topics of encouragement which the occaſion ſo naturally ſuggeſted, ſince the meaneſt Macedonian ſoldier could diſcern the injudicious movements of the Perſians, who had quitted a ſpacious plain, to entangle themſelves among intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry, in which they chiefly excelled, could perform no eſſential ſervice. In preparing for this important conteſt, the ſpirits of the Macedonians were elevated by a recollection of many fortunate occurrences. Ptolemy, as they had recently learned, had made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong fortreſſes in Caria. The brave Memnon indeed had eſcaped; but that able commander, who, to pave the way for invading Macedon, had attacked the Grecian iſles with his fleet, was ſince dead; and his ſucceſſors in command, after irritating the iſlanders by their inſolence and oppreſſion, were defeated in all their deſigns by the vigilance of Antipater. The army of Alexander had lately increaſed, by many volun-

[85] Χαλεπως αικισαμενος αποκτειν., Arrian, p. 34. It is remarkable, that he aſcribes this ferocity to Darius himſelf.

tary

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tary acceſſions of the Aſiatics, who admired his courage, mildneſs, and uninterrupted good fortune; and the ſoldiers, who the preceding year had been ſent to winter in Europe, had not only rejoined the camp, but brought with them numerous levies from Greece, Macedon, and all the adjoining countries. By men thus diſpoſed to indulge the moſt ſanguine hopes, the military harangue of their prince was received with a joyous ardour. They embraced each other; they embraced their admired commander; and his countenance confirming their alacrity, they entreated to be led to battle [86].

Diſpoſition of both armies.

Alexander commanded them firſt to refreſh their bodies; but immediately diſpatched ſome horſe and archers to clear the road to Iſſus. In the evening he followed with his whole army, and about midnight took poſſeſſion of the Syrian ſtraits. The ſoldiers were then allowed a ſhort repoſe, ſufficient guards being poſted on the ſurrounding eminences. At dawn, the army was in motion, marching by its flank while the paſſage continued narrow; and new columns being ſucceſſively brought up, as the mountains gradually opened. Before reaching the river Pinarus, on the oppoſite bank of which the enemy were encamped, the Macedonians had formed in order of battle; Alexander leading the right wing, and the left being commanded by Parmenio. They continued to advance, till their right was flanked by a mountain, and their left by the ſea, from which Parmenio was ordered not to recede. Darius being appriſed of the enemy's ap-

[86] Arrian, p. 33—36.

proach,

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proach, detached a body of fifty thouſand cavalry and light infantry acroſs the Pinarus, that the remainder might have room to form without confuſion. His Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thouſand, he poſted directly oppoſite to the Macedonian phalanx. The Greeks were flanked on both ſides by double that number of Barbarians, alſo heavy armed. The nature of the ground admitted not more troops to be ranged in front; but as the mountain on Alexander's left ſloped inwards, Darius placed on that ſinuoſity twenty thouſand men, who could ſee the enemy's rear, though it appears not that they could approach or annoy it. Behind the firſt line the reſt of the Barbarians were ranged, according to their various nations, in cloſe and unſerviceable ranks; Darius being every where encumbered by the vaſtneſs of a machine, which he had not ſkill to wield[87].

The battle of Iſſus. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

His puſillanimity was more fatal than his ignorance. When he perceived the Macedonians advancing, he commanded his men to maintain their poſt on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in ſome places high and ſteep; where the acceſs ſeemed eaſier, he gave orders to raiſe a rampart; precautions which ſhewed the enemy, that even before the battle began, the mind of Darius was already conquered[88]. Alexander, meanwhile, rode along

87 Arrian, p. 36.

88 Και ταυτη ευθυς δηλος ηγενετο τοις αμφι Αλεξανδρον τη γνωμη δεδουλωμενος. "And thence he immediately appeared to thoſe about Alexander to be already enſlaved in his mind." In thoſe times, ſlavery was the natural conſequence of being conquered in battle.

the

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the ranks, exhorting, by name, not only the commanders of the ſeveral brigades, but the tribunes and inferior officers, and even ſuch captains of the auxiliaries as were diſtinguiſhed by rank, or ennobled by merit. Perceiving it neceſſary to moderate the martial ardour that prevailed, he commanded his forces to advance with a regular and ſlow ſtep, leſt the phalanx ſhould fluctuate through too eager a contention. Their motion quickened as they proceeded within reach of the enemy's darts. Alexander, with thoſe around him, then ſprung into the river. Their impetuoſity frightened the Barbarians, who ſcarcely waited the firſt ſhock[89]. But the Greek mercenaries perceiving that by the rapidity and ſucceſs of Alexander's aſſault, the Macedonians were bent towards the right wing, which was ſeparated from the centre, ſeized the deciſive moment of ruſhing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. A fierce engagement enſued, the Greeks eager to regain the honour of their name, the Macedonians ambitious to maintain the unſullied glory of the phalanx. This deſperate action proved fatal to Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus, and other officers of diſtinction, to the number of an hundred and twenty. Meanwhile, the Macedonian right wing having repelled the enemy with great ſlaughter, wheeled to the left, and, animated by recent victory, finally prevailed

[89] They did, however, wait it; for Arrian ſays, ευθυς γαρ ως εν χερσι μαχη εγενετο. The "μαχη εν χερσι εγενετο;" when the darts and javelins ceaſed, and the contending parties came to the uſe of manual, inſtead of miſſile, weapons.

againſt

againſt the obſtinacy of the Greeks. A body of Perſian horſe ſtill maintained the battle againſt the Theſſalian cavalry, and did not quit the field, till informed that Darius had betaken himſelf to flight[90]. CHAP. XXXVII.

Rout of the Perſians.

The overthrow of the Perſians was now manifeſt on all ſides. Their cavalry and infantry ſuffered equally in the rout; for their horſemen were heavy armed, and encumbered by the narrowneſs of the roads, and their own terror. Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus[91], ſays, that the purſuers filled up the ditches with dead bodies. The number of the ſlain was computed at an hundred and ten thouſand, among whom were many ſatraps and nobles.

Eſcape of Darius.

The great king had diſcovered little obſtinacy in defending the important objects at ſtake. His left wing was no ſooner repelled by Alexander, than he drove away in his chariot, accompanied by his courtiers. When the road grew rough and mountainous, he continued his flight on horſeback, leaving his ſhield, his mantle, and his bow, which were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had received a troubleſome wound on the thigh[92], judged it improper to purſue him, till the Greek mercenaries were diſperſed; and the approach of night facilitated his eſcape.

[90] Arrian, l. ii. p. 36, & ſeqq. [91] Idem, ibid.

[92] Chares, cited by Plutarch, ſays, that Alexander received this wound from the hand of Darius; but the ſilence of Alexander's letter to Antipater, in which he gave an account of the battle, and of his wound on the thigh, refutes that improbable aſſertion.

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The captives and booty.

The Persian camp afforded abundant proof of Asiatic luxury and opulence[93]. It contained however in money but three thousand talents; the magnificent treasures, which accompanied the great king, being deposited, previous to the battle, in the neighbouring city of Damascus. This inestimable booty was afterwards seized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Sysigambis, and his infant son. In an age when prisoners of war were synonymous with slaves, Alexander behaved to his royal captives with the tenderness of a parent, blended with the respect of a son. In his chaste attention to Statira, the fairest beauty of the East, his conduct forms a remarkable contrast with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equalled in valour, but far surpassed in humanity. These illustrious princesses bore their own misfortunes with patience, but burst into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunuch that he had seen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian soldier. Alexander sent to assure them that Darius yet lived; and next day visited them in person, accompanied by Hephestion, the most affectionate

93 Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a casket of exquisite workmanship, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius's perfumes.—Alexander said, "I use no perfumes, but shall put into it something more precious." This was the Iliad of Homer, corrected by Aristotle, and often mentioned by ancient writers; ἡ ἐκ τȣ ναρθηκος, "the Iliad of the casket." Strabo, l. xiii. p. 888. Plut. in Alexand.

of

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of his friends[94]. Syſigambis approached to proſtrate[95] herſelf before the conqueror, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt; but not knowing the king, as their dreſs was alike, ſhe turned to Hepheſtion. Hepheſtion ſuddenly ſtepping back, Syſigambis ſaw her miſtake, and was covered with confuſion. "You miſtook not, madam!" ſaid the king, "Hepheſtion is likewiſe Alexander[96]."

The virtues of Alexander long continued to expand with his proſperity; but he was never more inimitably great, than after the battle of Iſſus. The city of Soli, in Cilicia, though inhabited by a Grecian colony, had diſcovered uncommon zeal in the cauſe of Darius. To puniſh this unnatural apoſtacy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Soli; but, after the victory, he remitted this fine. Impelled by the ſame generous magnanimity, he releaſed the Athenian captives taken at the battle of the Granicus; a favour which he had ſternly refuſed, in the dawn of his fortune. In Damaſcus, ſeveral Grecian ambaſſadors were found among the captives. Alexander ordered them to be brought into his preſence. Theſſaliſcus and Dionyſodorus, the Thebans, he inſtantly declared free, obſerving, that the miſfortunes of their country juſtly entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, and to every

The virtues of Alexander expand with his proſperity.

94 Alexander, with his uſual diſcernment, characteriſed the affection of Hepheſtion: "Craterus loves the prince; Hepheſtion loves Alexander." Plut. in Alexand.

95 Προσελθειν και προσκυνησαι. Arrian, l. ii. p. 39.

96 Curtius, l. iii. c. xii. Arrian, p. 39.

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prince from whom they might derive relief. Iphicrates, the Athenian, he treated with the reſpect which appeared due both to his country and to his father. Euthycles the Spartan, alone, he detained in ſafe cuſtody, becauſe Sparta ſullenly rejected the friendſhip of Macedon. But as his forgiveneſs ſtill increaſed with his power[97], he afterwards releaſed Euthycles.

[97] Arrian, p. 42.

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Siege of Tyre.—Deſperate Reſiſtance of Gaza.—Eaſy Conqueſt of Egypt.—Foundation of Alexandria.—Alexander viſits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon.—Marches into Aſſyria.—Battle of Gaugamela.—Darius betrayed and ſlain.—Alexander purſues the Murderers of Darius.—Bactrian and Scythian War.—Siege of the Sogdian Fortreſs.—Surrender of Chorienes.—Commotions in Greece—Checked by Antipater.—The Cauſe of Cteſiphon and Demoſthenes.—Æſchines baniſhed.—State of Greece during Alexander's Reign.

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Alexander receives an embaſſy from Tyre. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 332.

IN his precipitate flight acroſs the ridges of Amanus, Darius was gradually joined by about four thouſand men, chiefly Greeks. Under this feeble eſcort, he departed haſtily from Sochos, purſued his march eaſtward, and croſſed the Euphrates at Thapſacus, eager to interpoſe that deep and rapid ſtream between himſelf and the conqueror[1]. Alexander's inclination to ſeize the perſon of his adverſary could not divert him from the judicious plan of war, to which he immoveably adhered. In a council of his friends, he declared his opinion, that it would be highly imprudent

[1] Ὡς ταχιστα μισον αυτυ τε και τυ Αλεξανδρυ τον Ευφρατην ποιησαι. Arrian, p. 40.

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to attempt the conqueſt of Babylon, until he had thoroughly ſubdued the maritime provinces; becauſe ſhould he be carried with an unſeaſonable celerity into Upper Aſia, while the enemy commanded the ſea, the war might be removed to Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open enemies, and the Athenians doubtful friends. Having appointed governors of Cilicia and Cœle-Syria, he therefore directed his march ſouthward along the Phœnician coaſt. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon[2], readily opened their gates. The Tyrians ſent a ſubmiſſive embaſſy of their moſt illuſtrious citizens, among whom was the ſon of Azelmicus, their king, who had himſelf embarked with Autophradates in the Perſian fleet. They humbly informed Alexander, that the community[3] from which they came, was prepared to obey his commands. Having complimented the city and the ambaſſadors, he deſired them to acquaint their countrymen, that he intended ſhortly to enter Tyre, and to perform ſacrifice there to Hercules[4].

[2] I omit the ſtory of Abdelerminus, whom Alexander raiſed from the humble condition of a gardener to the throne of Sidon. Vid. Curt. l. iv. c. i. Diodorus, l. xvii. relates the ſame ſtory as happening in Tyre. Plutarch, de Fortun. Alexand. tranſlates the ſcene to Paphos. Amidſt ſuch inconſiſtencies, the ſilence of Arrian ſeemed worthy of imitation.

3 Arrian ſays, that theſe ambaſſadors were απο της κοινης εκκλησιας. It ſhould ſeem that the king of Tyre was a very limited prince, and the government rather republican than monarchical.

4 The reader may recollect, that Philip ſent a ſimilar meſſage to Atheas, king of the Scythians. Such pious pretences were often employed by antiquity to juſtify very unwarrantable tranſactions.

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Deſcription and ſtate of Tyre.

Upon this alarming intelligence, the Tyrians diſcovered equal firmneſs and prudence. A ſecond embaſſy aſſured Alexander of their unalterable reſpect, but at the ſame time communicated to him their determined reſolution, that neither the Perſians nor the Macedonians ſhould ever enter their walls. This boldneſs appears remarkable in a nation of merchants, long unaccuſtomed to war[5]. But the reſources of their wealth and commerce ſeem to have elevated the courage, inſtead of ſoftening the character, of the Tyrians. Their city, which, in the language of the Eaſt, was ſtyled the eldeſt daughter of Sidon[6], had long reigned queen of the ſea. The *purple* ſhell-fiſh, which is found in great abundance on their coaſt[7], or rather their excluſive knowledge of the kermes, which affords a beautiful red colour, put them in poſſeſſion of a moſt lucrative branch of trade, and confined chiefly to the Tyrians the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles in moſt civilized countries of antiquity[8]. Tyre was ſeparated from the

5 Old Tyre was built on the continent, by the Sidonians, 1252 B. C. It was beſieged by Salmaneſar, 719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezar, 572 B. C. The latter took the place after a ſiege of thirteen years; but the greater part of the inhabitants had previouſly fled with their effects to a neighbouring iſland, and founded the city deſcribed in the text. Vid. Joſeph. l. viii. cap. ii. l. ix. cap. xiv. & l. x. cap. xi.

6 Iſaiah, xxiii. 12.

7 Strabo, l. vi. p. 521.

8 Homer, Herodot. &c. paſſim. See likewiſe vol. i. p. 336. Mr. Bruce, in his Travels, treats the ſtory of the purple ſhell-fiſh with contempt; and ſuppoſes the Phœnicians concealed under this diſguiſe their knowledge of cochineal: had he ſaid kermes, his ſuppoſition might be approved, as according well with the artful character of the Phœnicians.

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continent by a frith half a mile broad; its walls exceeded an hundred feet[9] in height, and extended eighteen miles in circumference. The convenience of its ſituation, the capaciouſneſs of its harbours, and the induſtrious ingenuity of its inhabitants, rendered it the commercial capital of the world. Its magazines were plentifully provided with military and naval ſtores, and it was peopled by numerous and ſkilful artificers in ſtone, wood, and iron[10].

Alexander beſieges Tyre. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the city, Alexander determined to form the ſiege of Tyre; and the difficulty of an undertaking, which ſeemed neceſſary in itſelf, and eſſential to the ſucceſs of ſtill more important enterpriſes, only ſtimulated the activity of a prince, who knew that, on many emergencies, boldneſs is the greateſt prudence. The firſt operation which he directed, was to run a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the ſea was about three fathom deep. The neceſſity of this meaſure aroſe from the imperfection of the battering engines of antiquity, which had little power, except at ſmall diſtances. On the ſide of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but when the Macedonians approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by darts and miſſile weapons from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewiſe, having the command of the ſea, annoyed the workmen from their gallies, and re-

Throws a mole acroſs the frith;

[9] Arrian ſays one hundred and fifty feet. The copies probably are erroneous. [10] Plutarch, Curtius, Arrian.

tarded

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tarded the completion of their labours. To reſiſt theſe aſſaults, Alexander erected, on the furtheſt projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed his engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides to reſiſt the ignited darts and fire-ſhips of the enemy. This contrivance, however, the ingenuity of his adverſaries ſoon rendered ineffectual. Having procured a huge hulk, they filled it with dry twigs, pitch, ſulphur, and other combuſtibles. Toward the prow, they raiſed two maſts, each of which was armed with a double yard, from whoſe extremities were ſuſpended vaſt caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the conflagration. Having prepared this uncommon inſtrument of deſtruction, they patiently waited a favourable wind. The hulk was then towed into the ſea by two gallies. As ſhe approached the mole, the rowers ſet her on fire, and eſcaped by ſwimming. The works of the Macedonians were ſoon thrown into a blaze. The enemy, ſailing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguiſhing the flames; and the labour of many weeks was thus in one day reduced to ruins [11].

which is deſtroyed by the Tyrians.

The perſeverance of Alexander was proof againſt ſuch accidents. He immediately commanded new engines to be made, and a new mole to be raiſed, ſtronger and broader than the preceding. The orders of a prince, who directed every operation in perſon, and whoſe bodily toils exceeded thoſe of the meaneſt ſoldier, were always obeyed with alacrity. The ruins of old Tyre afforded abun-

Alexander raiſes a new mole.

[11] Arrian, p. 44, & ſeqq.

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dance of ſtone; wood was brought from Anti-Libanus[12]; and it ſhould ſeem that the Arabians, having diſturbed the Macedonian workmen, were repelled by Alexander, which gave riſe to the improbable fiction of his having conquered Arabia. By incredible exertions, the mole was at length built, and the battering engines were erected.

His military and naval reinforcements.

The arrival of four thouſand Peloponneſian forces ſeaſonably reinforced Alexander, and revived the courage of his troops, exhauſted by fatigue and dejected by defeat. At the ſame time the fleets of the maritime provinces which he had ſubdued, came to offer their aſſiſtance in an undertaking, which could ſcarcely have proved ſucceſsful, while the Tyrians commanded the ſea. The ſquadrons of Lower Aſia were joined by the naval force of Rhodes and Cyprus. The whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-four veſſels[13], ſo that the Tyrians, who hitherto confided

12 Curtius confounds Anti-Libanus with Mount Libanus. It would be endleſs to notice his errors, exaggerations, and fictions in the account of this ſiege, which is one of the moſt romantic paſſages in his hiſtory. Curtius writes to the fancy, not to the judgment; and to readers of a certain taſte the picturesque beauties of his ſtyle will atone for errors in matter of fact. *He* may be allowed to raiſe an imaginary ſtorm, who can deſcribe it like Curtius. "Tum inhorreſcens mare paullatim levari, deinde acriori vento concitatum, fluctus ciere, & inter ſe navigia collidere. Jamque ſcindi cœperant vincula, quibus connexæ quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata, & cum ingenti fragore in profundum ſecum milites trahere." It is Alexander, whoſe actions he diſfigures and renders incredible, not the reader, whoſe fancy he amuſes, that is entitled to condemn Curtius.

13 Curtius, l. iv. c. iii. ſays, that it conſiſted of one hundred and eighty ſail. Plutarch. in Alexand. ſays, that the haven of Tyre

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confided in their fleet, now retired behind the defences of their ports for ſafety.

Singular operations of the ſiege.

But theſe perſevering iſlanders, though they prudently declined an unequal combat, were forſaken neither by their activity nor their courage. The hulk and gallies[14], deſtined to advance the battering engines againſt their walls, were aſſailed with continual ſhowers of ignited arrows[15], and other miſſile weapons, which came with peculiar effect from wooden towers newly raiſed on their lofty battlements. This diſtant hoſtility retarded, but could not prevent, the approaches of the enemy. The purpoſe of the Tyrians was better effected by caſting down huge ſtones into the ſea, which hindered acceſs to the walls. To clear theſe incumbrances required the perſeverance of the Macedonians, and the animating preſence of Alexander. Before the work could be accompliſhed, the enemy advanced in covered veſſels, and cut the cables of the hulks employed in that laborious ſervice. Alexander commanded a ſquadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even this did not facilitate the removal of the bar; for the iſlanders, being expert divers, plunged under water, and again

Tyre was blocked up with two hundred triremes. Arrian diſtinctly mentions the number and ſpecies of ſhips ſent by each city or province. From Macedon there came, he ſays, a veſſel of fifty oars, πεντηκοντορος; a circumſtance which proves that, on this emergency, Alexander had taken pains to collect ſhips from all quarters.

14 Such veſſels were uſed for this purpoſe, as were the ſtouteſt ſailers. Arrian, p. 46.

15 Πυρφοροισοιστοις.

cutting

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cutting the cables, ſet the Macedonian veſſels adrift. It thus became neceſſary to prepare chains, which were uſed inſtead of ropes; by which contrivance the hulks were ſecured in firm anchorage, the bank of ſtones was removed, and the battering engines advanced to the walls.

The Tyrians defeated at ſea.

In this extremity the Tyrians, ſtill truſting to their courage, determined to attack the Cyprian ſquadron, ſtationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The boldneſs of this deſign could only be ſurpaſſed by the deliberate valour with which it was carried into execution. The mouth of the haven they had previouſly covered with ſpread ſails, to conceal their operations from the enemy. The hour of attack was fixed at mid-day, at which time the Greeks and Macedonians were uſually employed in private affairs, or the care of their bodies, and Alexander commonly retired to his pavilion, erected near the harbour which looked towards Egypt. The beſt ſailing veſſels were carefully ſelected from the whole fleet[16], and manned with the moſt expert rowers, and the moſt reſolute ſoldiers, all enured to the ſea, and well armed for fight. At firſt they came forth in a line, ſlowly and ſilently; but having proceeded within ſight of the Cyprians, they at once claſhed their oars, raiſed a ſhout, and advanced abreaſt of each other to the attack. Several of the enemy's ſhips were ſunk at the firſt ſhock;

[16] They conſiſted, ſays Arrian, in five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and ſeven triremes. See note, vol. i. p. 208, & ſeqq.

others

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others were daſhed in pieces againſt the ſhore. Alexander, who had fortunately that day tarried but a ſhort time in his pavilion, was no ſooner informed of this deſperate ſally, than, with admirable preſence of mind, he immediately ordered ſuch veſſels as were ready, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. Meanwhile, with ſeveral quinquereme, and five trireme, gallies, haſtily prepared, he ſailed round to attack the Tyrians. The beſieged obſerving from their walls the approach of Alexander, endeavoured, by ſhouts and ſignals, to recal their ſhips. They had ſcarcely changed their courſe, when the enemy aſſailed, and ſoon rendered them unſerviceable. The men ſaved themſelves by ſwimming; few veſſels eſcaped; two were taken at the very entrance of the harbour.

Tyre taken by aſſault. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332. July.

The iſſue of theſe naval operations decided the fate of Tyre. Unawed by the hoſtile fleet, the Macedonians now fearleſsly advanced their engines on all ſides. Amidſt repeated aſſaults during two days, the beſiegers diſplayed the ardour of enthuſiaſm [17], the beſieged the fury of deſpair. From towers

[17] From the beginning, the difficulties of the ſiege had appeared almoſt unſurmountable to the ſoldiers. "But Alexander," ſays Curtius, "haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos, ſpeciem ſibi Herculis in ſomno oblatam eſſe pronunciat, dextram porrigentis." The diviners thence concluded, as Arrian tells us, that Tyre would be taken, but that it would be an Herculean labour. Alexander continued throughout the ſiege to employ the aids of ſuperſtition. At one time it was ſaid, that Apollo

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towers equal in height to the walls, the Greeks and Macedonians fought hand to hand with the enemy. By throwing ſpontoons acroſs, the braveſt ſometimes paſſed over, even to the battlements. In other parts, the Tyrians ſucceſsfully employed hooks and grappling-irons to remove the aſſailants. On thoſe who attempted ſcaling-ladders, they poured veſſels of burning ſand, which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of the attack was oppoſed by as vigorous a reſiſtance. The ſhock of the battering engines was deadened by green hides and coverlets of wool, and whenever an opening was effected, the braveſt combatants advanced to defend the breach. But time and fatigue, which exhauſted the vigour of the enemy, only confirmed the perſeverance of Alexander. On the third day, the engines aſſailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two ſquadrons, attacked the oppoſite harbours. A wide breach being effected, Alexander commanded the hulks, which carried the engines, to retire, and others, bearing the ſcaling-ladders, to advance, that his ſoldiers might enter the town over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Admetus, firſt mounted the breach. This gallant commander was ſlain by a ſpear; but Alexander,

Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had faſtened him with golden chains to prevent his elopement. At another, Alexander dreamed that a ſatyr playing before him, long eluded his graſp, but finally allowed himſelf to be caught. The augurs divided the word Σατυρος, a Satyr, into two ſyllables, Σα Τυρος, Tyre is thine. By ſuch coarſe artifices did Alexander conquer the world.

who

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who was preſent wherever danger called, immediately followed with the royal band of *Companions*. At the ſame time the Phœnician fleet broke into the harbour of Egypt, and the Cyprians into that of Sidon. After their walls were taken, the townſmen ſtill rallied, and prepared for defence. The length of the ſiege, and ſtill more the cruelty of the Tyrians, who having taken ſome Grecian veſſels from Sidon, butchered their crews on the top of their wall, and threw their bodies into the ſea, in ſight of the whole Macedonian army, provoked the indignation of Alexander, and exaſperated the fury of the victors. Eight thouſand Tyrians were ſlain; thirty thouſand were reduced to ſervitude [18]. The principal magiſtrates, together with ſome Carthaginians who had come to worſhip the gods of their mother-country, took refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules. They were ſaved by the clemency or piety of Alexander, who had loſt four hundred men in this obſtinate ſiege of ſeven months [19].

Submiſſion of Judæa.

The conqueſt of Phœnicia was followed by the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring province of Judæa [20]. But

[18] Curtius, l. iv. c. iv. ſays, that fifteen thouſand Tyrians were ſaved by their Sidonian brethren, who clandeſtinely embarked them in their ſhips, and tranſported them to Sidon. This circumſtance, omitted by Arrian, derives ſome probability from the vigorous reſiſtance which, nineteen years afterwards, Tyre again made to the arms of Antigonus. Vid. Diodor. Sicul. p. 702—704.

[19] Arrian, l. ii. p. 44—50.

[20] All the hiſtorians of Alexander are ſilent concerning his journey to Jeruſalem, and his extraordinary tranſactions there, deſcribed

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Deſperate reſiſtance of Gaza.

But in the road leading to Egypt, the progreſs of the conqueror was interrupted by the ſtrong city of Gaza, ſituate on a high hill, near the confines of the Arabian deſert[21]. This place, diſtant about two miles from the ſea, and ſurrounded by marſhes or a deep ſand, which rendered it extremely difficult of acceſs, was held for Darius by the loyalty of Batis[22], an eunuch, who had prepared to reſiſt Alexander by hiring Arabian troops, and by pro-

deſcribed by Joſephus, l. xi. c. viii. This ſtory, invented by the patriotic vanity of the Jews, is totally inconſiſtant with the narrative of Arrian, copied in the text. As all Paleſtine except Gaza, had ſubmitted to his arms, "Τα μεν αλλα της Παλαιστινης προσκεχωρηκοτα ηδη." Alexander had no occaſion to march againſt Jeruſalem. The converſation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-prieſt Jadduah, as related by Joſephus, is likewiſe contradictory to the beſt-authenticated events in the reign of Alexander. When the high prieſt approached to implore the clemency of the conqueror, Alexander, ſays the Jewiſh hiſtorian, proſtrated himſelf before that venerable old man; an action which ſo much ſurpriſed Parmenio, that he immediately aſked his maſter, "Why he, whom all the world adored, ſhould himſelf adore the high-prieſt of the Jews?" It will appear in the ſequel, that Alexander did not require this mark of reſpect (the προσκυνησις), till long after the period alluded to by Joſephus: neither could he be accompanied by the Chaldæans, as that writer alleges; much leſs could the high-prieſt, with propriety, have requeſted Alexander to permit the Jews, ſettled in Babylon and Media, the free exerciſe of their religion, before that prince had conquered thoſe countries, or even paſſed the Euphrates. See this ſubject farther examined in Moyle's Letters, vol. ii. p. 415. and in l'Examen Critique des Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre, p. 65—69.

[21] Εσχατη δε ωκειτο ως επ' Αιγυπτον εκ Φοινικης ιοντι, επι τη αρχη της ερημου. "It is the laſt inhabited place on the road from Phœnicia to Egypt, on the ſkirts of the deſert."

[22] Curtius, l. iv. c. vi. calls him Belis; Joſephus, l. xi. c. viii. Bahameſes.

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viding copious magazines. The Macedonian engineers[23] declared their opinion that Gaza was impregnable. But Alexander, unwilling to incur the diſgrace and danger of leaving a ſtrong fortreſs behind him, commanded a rampart to be raiſed on the ſouth ſide of the wall, which ſeemed leaſt ſecure againſt an attack. His engines were ſcarcely erected, when the garriſon made a furious ſally, and threw them into flames. It required the preſence of the king to ſave the rampart, and to prevent the total defeat of the Macedonians. Warned by a heavenly admonition[24], he had hitherto kept beyond the reach of the enemy's darts; and when the danger of his troops made him forget the divine omen, a weapon, thrown from a catapult, pierced his ſhield and breaſt-plate, and wounded him in the ſhoulder. Soon afterwards the engines, which had been uſed in the ſiege of Tyre, arrived by ſea. A wall of incredible height and breadth[25] was run entirely round the city; the Macedonians raiſed their batteries; the miners[26] were buſy at the founda-

23 Οι μηχανοποιοι, the engine-makers; it ſhould ſeem that the ſame perſons who made the engines, directed the application of them.

24 While Alexander was ſacrificing, a bird of prey let fall a ſtone on his head. According to Ariſtander, the ſoothſayer, this prodigy portended that the city ſhould be taken, but that Alexander would be expoſed to danger in the ſiege

25 Ευρος μεν ες δυο σταδιους, τα δε ες ποδας πεντηκοντα και διακοσιους, "Two furlongs in breadth, two hundred and fifty feet in height;" but the text is abſurdly erroneous.

26 Υποιομων τε αλλη και αλλη ορυσσομενων. Arrian, p. 51. This was an uncommon expedient, and uſed only on great emergencies.

tion;

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tion; breaches were effected; and, after repeated aſſaults, the city was taken by ſtorm. When their wall was undermined, and their gates in poſſeſſion of the enemy, the inhabitants ſtill fought deſperately, and, without loſing ground [27], periſhed to a man. Their wives and children were enſlaved; and Gaza, being re-peopled from the neighbouring territory, ſerved as a place of arms to reſtrain the incurſions of the Arabs.

Eaſy conqueſt of Egypt. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332.

The obſtinate reſiſtance of the obſcure fortreſs of Gaza, was contraſted by the ready ſubmiſſion of the celebrated kingdom of Egypt. In ſeven days march, Alexander reached the maritime city of Peluſium, to which he had previouſly ſent the fleet, with an injunction carefully to examine the neighbouring coaſts, lakes, and rivers. His deciſive victory at Iſſus, the ſhameful flight of Darius, the recent ſubjugation of Syria and Phœnicia, together with the actually defenceleſs ſtate of Egypt (Mazaces the ſatrap of that large province having no Perſian, and ſcarcely any regular, troops), opened a ready paſſage to the wealthy capital of Memphis. There, Alexander was received as ſovereign, and immediately afterwards acknowledged by the whole nation; a nation long accuſtomed to fluctuate between one ſervitude and another, always ready to obey the firſt ſummons of an invader, and ever willing to betray him for a new maſter. Grateful for his unexampled ſucceſs,

27 Και απεθανον παντες αυτω μαχομενοι, ως εκαστοι ταχθησαν. The higheſt panegyric, being the very words applied by Lyſias, Herodotus, &c. to thoſe who fell at Thermopylæ.

Alexander

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Alexander ſacrificed at Memphis to the Egyptian gods, and celebrated in that city gymnaſtic and muſical games, which were adorned by Grecian artiſts, accompanying him for that purpoſe. Having placed ſufficient garriſons both in Memphis and Peluſium, he embarked with the remainder of his forces, and ſailed down the Nile to [illegible]opus [28].

Foundation of Alexandria.

At this place, Alexander found abundant occupation for his policy, in a country where there was no opportunity for exerciſing his valour. Continually occupied with the thoughts, not only of extending, but of improving, his conqueſts, the firſt glance of his diſcerning eye perceived what the boaſted wiſdom of Egypt had never been able to diſcover. The inſpection of the Mediterranean coaſt, of the Red Sea, of the Lake Marœotis, and of the various branches of the Nile, ſuggeſted the deſign of founding a city, which ſhould derive, from nature only, more permanent advantages than the favour of the greateſt princes can beſtow. Fired with this idea, he not only fixed the ſituation [29], but traced the plan of his intended capital, deſcribed

[28] Arrian, p. 51, & ſeqq.

[29] Egypt, ſays Baron Tott, who lately ſurveyed that country with the eye of an engineer and a ſtateſman, was formed to reunite the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. It ſtood in need of a harbour, vaſt, and of eaſy acceſs. The mouths of the Nile afford neither of theſe advantages; the only proper ſituation was diſtant twelve leagues from the river, and in the heart of a deſert. On this ſpot, which none but a great genius could have diſcovered, Alexander built a city, which, being joined to the Nile by a navigable canal, became the capi-

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deſcribed the circuit of its walls, and aſſigned the ground for its ſquares, market-places, and temples[30]. Such was the ſagacity of his choice, that within the ſpace of twenty years, Alexandria roſe to diſtinguiſhed eminence among the cities of Egypt and the Eaſt, and continued, through all ſubſequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, the ſeat of correſpondence and commerce among the civilized nations of the earth.

Alexander viſits the temple of Ammon. Olymp. cxii. 1. A. C. 332.

In Egypt, an inclination ſeized Alexander to traverſe the ſouthern coaſt of the Mediterranean, that he might viſit the revered temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable ſhrine was ſituate in a cultivated ſpot of five miles in diameter, diſtant about fifty leagues from the ſea, and riſing with the moſt attractive beauty amidſt the ſandy deſerts of Lybia. Among the African and Aſiatic nations, the oracle of Ammon enjoyed a ſimilar authority to that which Delphi had long held in Greece; and, perhaps, the conqueſt of the Eaſt could not have been ſo eaſily accompliſhed by Alexander, had he not previouſly obtained the ſanction of this venerated ſhrine. Guided by prudence, or impelled by curioſity, he firſt proceeded two hundred miles weſtward, along the coaſt to Parætonius, through a deſolate country,

tal of nations, the metropolis of commerce. The trading nations of the earth ſtill reſpect its ruins, heaped up by barbariſm, and which require but the operation of a beneficent hand, to reſtore the boldeſt edifice which the human mind ever dared to conceive. Mem. du Baron de Tott, t. ii. p. 179.

[30] Arrian, l. iii. ſub init.

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but not deſtitute of water. He then boldly penetrated towards the ſouth, into the midland territory, deſpiſing the danger of traverſing an ocean of ſand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any other object that might direct his courſe, or vary this gloomy ſcene of uniform ſterility[31]. The ſuperſtition of the ancients believed him to have been conducted by ravens, or ſerpents; which, without ſuppoſing a miracle, may, agreeably to the natural inſtinct of animals, have ſometimes held their courſe, through the deſert, towards a well-watered and fertile ſpot, covered with palms and olives. The fountain, which was the ſource of this fertility, formed not the leaſt curioſity of the place. It was exceedingly cool at mid-day, and warm at mid-night; and, in the intervening time, regularly, every day, underwent all the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a foſſile ſalt, which was often dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as cryſtal. The prieſts of Ammon incloſed it in boxes of palm-tree, and beſtowed it, in preſents, on kings and other illuſtrious perſonages; ſuch ſalt being regarded as purer than that procured from ſea-water, and therefore preferred for the purpoſe of ſacrifice, by perſons curious in their worſhip[32].

Alexander admired the nature of the place, conſulted the oracle concerning the ſucceſs of his expedition, and received, as was univerſally reported, Alexander ſettles the government of Egypt.

31 Arrian, p. 53, & ſeqq. & Curtius, l. iv. c. vii.
32 Arrian, ibid.

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a very favourable anſwer[33]. Having thus effected his purpoſe at the temple of Ammon, he returned to Memphis, in order finally to ſettle the affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants of that country were reinſtated in the enjoyment of their ancient religion and laws. Two Egyptians were appointed to adminiſter the civil government; but the principal garriſons, Alexander prudently entruſted to the command of his moſt confidential friends[34], a policy alike recommended by the ſtrength and importance of the country, and by the reſtleſs temper of its inhabitants.

Darius collects an army from his eaſtern provinces.

The Macedonians had now extended their arms over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria, and Egypt; countries which anciently formed the ſeat of arts and empire, and which actually compoſe the ſtrength and centre of the Turkiſh power. But Darius (after all hopes of accommodation had vaniſhed with a conqueror who demanded unconditional ſubmiſſion to his clemency[35]) ſtill found reſources

33 Vid. Plut. Alexand. p. 680. The prieſt, or prophet, meant to addreſs Alexander by the affectionate title of παιδιον, child, ſon; but not being ſufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he ſaid, παι διος, ſon of Jupiter. On this wretched blunder were founded Alexander's pretenſions to divinity. Plut. ibid. & Zonar. Annal. i. p. 134. The fictions of Curtius are inconſiſtent with Arrian, and with Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1168.

34 Arrian obſerves, that the Romans ſeem to have imitated the jealouſy of Alexander reſpecting Egypt. Senſible of the temptations of the governors of that province to revolt, they appointed, not ſenators, but men of the equeſtrian order, to be Proconſuls of Egypt. Arrian, p. 55.

35 In this, Arrian and Curtius agree. The letters between Alexander and Darius are differently expreſſed by theſe writers.

In

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reſources in his eaſtern provinces, Schirvan, Gilan, Koroſan, and the wide extent of territory between the Caſpian and the Jaxartes. Not only the ſubjects of the empire, but the independent tribes in thoſe remote regions, which in ancient and modern times have ever been the abode of courage and barbarity, rejoiced in an opportunity to ſignaliſe their reſtleſs valour. At the firſt ſummons, they poured down into the fertile plains of Aſſyria, and increaſed the army of Darius far beyond any proportion of force which he had hitherto collected.

Alexander marches into Aſſyria. Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 331.

Meanwhile, Alexander having received conſiderable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, purſued his journey eaſtward from Phœnicia, paſſed the Euphrates at Thapſacus [36], boldly ſtemmed the rapid ſtream of the Tigris, and haſtened to meet the enemy in Aſſyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level banks of the Bumadus, near the obſcure village of Gaugamela; but the famous battle, which finally decided the empire of the Eaſt, derived its name from Arbela, a town in the ſame province, ſixty miles diſtant from the former, better known, and of eaſier pronunciation [37]

In both their accounts, which are totally inconſiſtent with each other, there are internal marks of falſehood.

[36] Darius had entruſted the defence of the paſs to Mazacus, with a body of cavalry, of which two thouſand were Greeks. But on the firſt intelligence of Alexander's approach, Mazacus abandoned his poſt, and drew off his forces. Arrian, p. 56.

[37] This reaſon, which is given by Arrian, could ſcarcely have appeared valid to any but a Greek. Vid. Arrian, p. 131.

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Approaches the enemy.

The fourth day after paſſing the Tigris, Alexander was informed by his ſcouts, that they had ſeen ſome bodies of the enemy's horſe, but could not diſcover their numbers. Upon this intelligence he marched forward in order of battle; but had not proceeded far, when he was met by other ſcouts, who having penetrated deeper into the country, or examined with greater accuracy, acquainted him that the hoſtile cavalry ſingly exceeded a thouſand. This news made him alter his meaſures. The heavy-armed troops were commanded to ſlacken their pace. At the head of the royal cohort, the Pœonians, and auxiliaries, Alexander advanced with ſuch celerity, that ſeveral of the Barbarians fell into his hands.

Their numbers.

Theſe priſoners gave him very alarming accounts of the ſtrength of Darius, who was encamped within a few hours march. Some made it amount to a million of foot, forty thouſand horſe, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants from the eaſtern banks of the Indus[38]. Others exaggerated (if indeed it was an exaggeration) with more method and probability, reducing the infantry to ſix hundred thouſand, and raiſing the cavalry to an hundred and forty-five thouſand[39]. But all agreed, that the preſent army was greatly more numerous, and compoſed of more warlike nations, than that which had fought at Iſſus[40].

[38] Arrian, p. 57.

[39] Curtius, l. iv. c. xii. xiii. edit. Genev. The numbers are different in the other editions.

[40] Arrian & Curtius, loc. citat. Juſtin, l. xi. c. xii. Diodorus, l. xvii. c. xxxix. & liii. Oroſius, l. iii. c. xvii. Plut. in Alexand.

Alexander

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Examines the field of battle.

Alexander received this information without teſtifying the ſmalleſt ſurpriſe. Having commanded a halt, he encamped four days, to give his men reſt and refreſhment. His camp being fortified by a good intrenchment, he left in it the ſick and infirm, together with all the baggage; and, on the evening of the fourth day, prepared to march againſt the enemy, with the effective part of the army, which was ſaid to conſiſt of forty thouſand infantry, and ſeven thouſand horſe, unincumbered with any thing but their proviſions and armour. The march was undertaken at the ſecond watch of the night, that the Macedonians, by joining battle in the morning, might enjoy the important advantage of having an entire day before them, to reap the full fruits of their expected victory. About half way between the hoſtile camps, ſome eminences intercepted the view of either army. Having aſcended the riſing ground, Alexander firſt beheld the Barbarians, drawn up in battle array, and perhaps more ſkilfully marſhalled than he had reaſon to apprehend. Their appearance, at leaſt, immediately determined him to change his firſt reſolution. He again commanded a halt, ſummoned a council of war, and different meaſures being propoſed, acceded to the ſingle opinion of Parmenio, who adviſed that the foot ſhould remain ſtationary, until a detachment of horſe had explored the field of battle[41], and

[41] Την χωραν πασαν ινα το εργον ισισθαι εμιλλαν. "The whole ſcene of the future action." Arrian, p. 8.

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carefully examined the diſpoſition of the enemy. Alexander, whoſe conduct was equalled by his courage, and both ſurpaſſed by his activity, performed thoſe important duties in perſon, at the head of his light horſe, and royal cohort. Having returned with unexampled celerity, he again aſſembled his captains, and encouraged them by a ſhort ſpeech. Their ardour correſponded with his own; and the ſoldiers, confident of victory, were commanded to take reſt and refreſhment[42].

Diſpoſition of the enemy;

Meanwhile, Darius perceiving the enemy's approach, kept his men prepared for action. Notwithſtanding the great length of the plain, he was obliged to contract his front, and form in two lines, each of which was extremely deep. According to the Perſian cuſtom, the king occupied the centre of the firſt line, ſurrounded by the princes of the blood, and the great officers of his court, and defended by his horſe and foot guards, amounting to fifteen thouſand choſen men. Theſe ſplendid troops, which ſeemed fitter for parade than battle, were flanked, on either ſide, by the Greek mer-

42 Διιπνοποιεισθαι και αναπαυεσθαι εκελευσε τον στρατον. "He commanded his army to ſup and reſt." Arrian, p. 58. This does not well agree with what is ſaid, p. 57. ωδειν αλλο ὁτι μη ὁπλα φερουσι, "That the ſoldiers carried nothing but their armour." I have therefore ſupplied the word "proviſions." Both Arrian (loc. citat.), and Curtius, l. iv. c. xiii. ſay, that Parmenio exhorted Alexander to attack the enemy in the night; to which the king anſwered, that he diſdained κλεψαι την νικην, "to ſteal the victory:" an anſwer worthy of his magnanimity and his prudence; ſince the day and the light were more favourable to the full exertion and diſplay of his ſuperior ſkill and courage.

cenaries,

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cenaries, and other warlike battalions, carefully ſelected from the whole army. The right wing conſiſted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ; the left was chiefly occupied by the Bactrians, Perſians, and Carduſians. The various nations compoſing this immenſe hoſt were differently armed, with ſwords, ſpears, clubs, and hatchets; while the horſe and foot of each diviſion were promiſcuouſly blended, rather from the reſult of accident, than by the direction of deſign. The armed chariots fronted the firſt line, whoſe centre was farther defended by the elephants. Choſen ſquadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced before either wing, prepared to bring on the action, or after it began, to attack the enemy in flank and rear.

who remain all night under arms.

The unexpected approach of Alexander within ſight of his tents, prevented Darius from fortifying the wide extent of his camp; and, as he dreaded a nocturnal aſſault, from enemies who often veiled their deſigns in darkneſs, he commanded his men to remain all night under arms. This unuſual meaſure, the gloomy ſilence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a reſtleſs night, diſcouraged the whole army, but inſpired double terror into thoſe who had witneſſed the miſerable diſaſters on the banks of the Granicus and the Iſſus.

Alexander's order of battle:

At day-break, Alexander diſpoſed his troops in a manner ſuggeſted by the ſuperior numbers and deep order of the enemy. His main body conſiſted

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ſiſted in two heavy-armed phalanxes, each amounting to above ſixteen thouſand men. Of theſe, the greater part formed into one line; behind which, he placed the heavy-armed men, reinforced by his targeteers, with orders, that when the out-ſpreading wings of the enemy prepared to attack the flanks and rear of his firſt line, the ſecond ſhould immediately wheel to receive them[43]. The cavalry and light infantry were ſo diſpoſed on the wings, that while one part reſiſted the ſhock of the Perſians in front, another, by only facing to the right or left, might take them in flank. Skilful archers and darters were poſted at proper intervals, as affording the beſt defence againſt the armed chariots, which (as Alexander well knew) muſt immediately become uſeleſs, whenever their conductors or horſes were wounded.

and mode of attack.

Having thus arranged the ſeveral parts, Alexander with equal judgment led the whole in an oblique direction towards the enemy's left; a manœuvre which enabled the Macedonians to avoid contending at once with ſuperior numbers. When his advanced battalions, notwithſtanding their nearneſs to the enemy, ſtill ſtretched towards the right, Darius alſo extended his left, till fearing that by continuing this movement his men ſhould be drawn gradually off the plain, he commanded the Scythian ſquadrons to advance, and prevent the further extenſion of the hoſtile line. Alexander

[43] Επεταξε δε και δευτεραν ταξιν ως ειναι την φαλαγγα αμφισομον. Arrian, p. 60. The φαλαγξ αμφισομος is explained by Ælian, as deſcribed in the text.

imme-

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Battle of Gaugamela. Olymp. cxii. 2. A. C. 331. October.

immediately detached a body of horſe to oppoſe them. An equeſtrian combat enſued, in which both parties were reinforced, and the Barbarians finally repelled. The armed chariots then iſſued forth with impetuous violence; but their appearance only was formidable; for the precautions taken by Alexander, rendered their aſſault harmleſs. Darius next moved his main body, but with ſo little order, that the horſe, mixed with the infantry, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line, which his generals wanted time or vigilance to ſupply. Alexander ſeized the deciſive moment, and penetrated into the void with a wedge of ſquadrons. He was followed by the neareſt ſections of the phalanx, who ruſhed forward with loud ſhouts, as if they had already purſued the enemy. In this part of the field, the victory was not long doubtful; after a feeble reſiſtance, the Barbarians gave way; and the puſillanimous Darius was foremoſt in the flight[44].

The battle, however, was not yet decided. The more remote diviſions of the phalanx, upon receiving intelligence that the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in danger, had not immediately followed Alexander. A vacant ſpace was thus left in the Macedonian line, through which ſome ſquadrons of Perſian and Indian horſe penetrated with celerity, and advanced to the hoſtile camp[45]. It was then that Alexander derived ſignal and

44 Εφυγε εν τοις πρωτοις αισχρως "He fled ſhamefully among the foremoſt." Arrian, p. 69.

45 The words of Arrian are, Αλλ' επιστησαντες την φαλαγγα (viz. the ſections on the left), ηγωνιζοντο, ὁτι το ευωνυμον πονεισθαι

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and well-earned advantages from his judicious order of battle. The heavy-armed troops and targeteers, which he had ſkilfully poſted behind the phalanx, ſpeedily faced about, advanced with a rapid ſtep, and attacked the Barbarian cavalry, already entangled among the baggage. The enemy, thus ſurpriſed, were deſtroyed, or put to flight. Meanwhile, the danger of his left wing recalled Alexander from the purſuit of Darius. In advancing againſt the enemy's right, he was met by the Parthian, Indian, and Perſian horſe, who

ποιεισθαι ηγγελλετο. Και ταυτη παρεξαγεισης αυτοις της ταξεως, κατα το διεχον, διεκπαισαι των τε Ινδων τινες, και της Περσικης ἱππου, ὡς επι τα σκευοφορα των Μακεδονων, &c. The learned Guiſchardt's commentary is ingenious, but ſcarcely warranted by the text. "Les ſections de la droite de la phalange ayant donné en même temps que les Peltaſtes, les autres ſections, qui étoient par l'oblique plus ou moins en arrière, tacherent auſſi de marcher en avant, & de charger l'ennemi. Mais les troupes de la droite des Perſes, voyant le fort de combat au centre, ſe preſſerent toutes vers cet endroit de la ligne, en ſe pouſſant mutuellement, & la foule embaraſſa tellement les ſoldâts de la phalange, qu'il leur fut alors impoſſible de s'avancer. Sur ces entrefaites, Alexandre, pour ſe faire jour, ſe jetta ſur les derrières de ces ennemis. En même temps la nouvelle de la ſuite de Darius, & de la deroute de toute ſa gauche s'étant repandue, la conſternation devint générale. L'effet en fut ſingulier; les Perſes ſe voyant coupés, dans leur retraite, par les eſcadrons d'Alexandre, qu'ils avoient à dos, chercherent à ſe ſauver, même à travers la phalange. Ils ſe jetterent à corps perdu ſur elle. Quoique de vingt quatre de hauteur, elle ne put reſiſter au poids de cette maſſe. Sa gauche étant alors plus chargée que ſa droite, les ſections, de celle-ci pouſſérent en avant, & n'obſerverent pas pue, depuis la troiſième ſection, la gauche reſtoit en arrière. Il en reſulta que la phalange ſe ſepara, que ſe droite s'avança à la pourſuite de l'ennemi, & que des corps nombreux de cavalerie & d'infanterie, qui avoient été au centre Perſan, entrérent tout-à-coup par la crevaſſe, & pouſſérent juſques derrière la ligne des Macédoniens." See Mémoires Militaires, c. xv. p. 221.

main-

maintained a ſharp conflict. Sixty of the *Companions* fell; Hephæſtion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded. Having at length diſſipated this cloud of cavalry, Alexander prepared to attack the foot in that wing. But the buſineſs was already effected, chiefly by the Theſſalian horſe; and nothing remained to be done, but to purſue the fugitives, and to render the victory as deciſive as poſſible[46].

Conſequences of the victory.

According to the leaſt extravagant accounts, with the loſs of five hundred men, he deſtroyed forty thouſand of the Barbarians[47], who never thence-

46 Soldiers, better acquainted with the practice than with the theory of their art, have often teſtified a juſt ſurpriſe, that the battles of the ancients ſhould be deſcribed with an order, perſpicuity, and circumſtantial minuteneſs, which are not to be found in the military writers of modern times. Scholars have endeavoured to explain this difference, by obſerving the immenſe diſproportion, in point of dignity and abilities, between the military hiſtorians of modern Europe, and thoſe of Greece and Rome. But the difficulty will be better ſolved, by reflecting on the changes introduced into the art of war by the change of arms; which, in military operations, form the pivot on which the whole turns. 1. From the nature of fire-arms, modern battles are involved in ſmoke and confuſion. 2. From the ſame cauſe modern armies occupy a much greater extent of ground, and begin to act at much greater diſtances; which renders it more difficult to obſerve and aſcertain their manœuvres. 3. The immenſe train of artillery, ammunition, &c. required in the practice of modern war, gives a certain immobility to our armies, which renders it impoſſible to perform, without great danger, thoſe rapid evolutions in fight of an enemy, which ſo often decided the battles of the ancients. With us, almoſt every thing depends on the judicious choice of ground, a matter requiring great military genius, but not admitting the embelliſhments of hiſtorical deſcription.

47 In the battles of the Greeks and Romans, the extraordinary diſproportion between the numbers ſlain on the ſide of the victors

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thenceforth aſſembled in ſufficient numbers to diſpute his dominion in the Eaſt. The invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Suſiana, and Perſis, with their reſpective capitals of Babylon, Suſa, and Perſepolis[48], formed the prize of his ſkill and valour. Alexander had not yet attained the ſummit of his fortune, but he had already reached the height of his renown[49]. The burning of the royal palace of Perſepolis[50], to retaliate the ravages of

victors and of the vanquiſhed, neceſſarily reſulted from the nature of their arms. Their principal weapons being not miſſile, but manual, armies could not begin to act till they had approached ſo nearly to each other, that the conquered found themſelves cut off from all poſſibility of retreat. In modern times, the uſe of fire-arms (which often renders the action itſelf more bloody) furniſhes the defeated party with various means of retreating with conſiderable ſafety. The ſphere of military action is ſo widely extended in modern times, that before the victors can run over the ſpace which ſeparates them from the vanquiſhed, the latter may fall back, and proceed with little loſs beyond their reach; and ſhould any village, hedge, ravine, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardour of the purſuers. Upon theſe conſiderations, the invention of gunpowder may be ſaid to have ſaved the effuſion of human blood. Equeſtrian engagements (ſince the principles on which cavalry act remain nearly the ſame in every age) are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by ſimilar circumſtances to thoſe which appear ſo extraordinary in the battles of antiquity.

48 The gold and ſilver found in thoſe cities amounted to thirty millions ſterling; the jewels and other precious ſpoil, belonging to Darius, ſufficed, according to Plutarch, to load twenty thouſand mules, and five thouſand camels. Plut. in Alexand.

49 After the battle of Arbela, many of Alexander's actions, as will appear in the text, deſerve the higheſt praiſe; but, before that period, few of them can be juſtly blamed.

50 Arrian, l. iii. p. 66. Plut. in Alexand. & Strabo, l. xv. p. 502. agree with Arrian in confining the conflagration to the palace-

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of Xerxes in Greece, afforded the firſt indication of his being overcome by too much proſperity. To ſpeak the moſt favourably of this tranſaction, an undiſtinguiſhing reſentment made him forget that he deſtroyed his own palace, not that of his adverſary.

Meaſures of Darius.

The ſettlement of his important and extenſive conqueſts, and the reduction of the warlike Uxii, thoſe independent mountaineers, who, inhabiting the weſtern frontier of Perſia, had ever defied the Perſian power, reſtrained Alexander from urging the purſuit of Darius. After his defeat, that unfortunate prince eſcaped by a precipitate and obſcure[51] flight acroſs the Armenian mountains into

palace. Plutarch tells us, that only a part of that edifice was conſumed. Diodorus ſays inaccurately, ὁ περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοπος, "the place around the palace;" and Curtius, l. v. c. vii. with his uſual extravagance, burns the whole city of Perſepolis ſo completely, that not a veſtige of it remained. The learned author of the Examen Critique des Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre, is at pains to prove that Perſepolis exiſted under the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and continued to exiſt till the firſt ages of Mahometaniſm, when the inhabitants of Perſepolis, having violated their treaty with the Muſſulmen, were butchered without mercy, and their city totally demoliſhed. See Examen Critique, p. 125, & ſeqq. Mr. D'Hankerville, however, alleges reaſons for believing that there were two cities called Perſepolis by the Greeks, ſituate at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, one of which was burnt by Alexander, and the other deſtroyed by the Muſſulmen. See his Supplement to his Recherches ſur les Arts, &c. de la Gréce.

[51] Arrian obſerves, that Darius ſhewed great judgment in his flight, having left the populous and well-frequented roads leading to Suſa and Babylon, towards which he juſtly ſuſpected that Alexander would march his army, and directing his courſe over the Armenian mountains into Media. Arrian, p. 63. Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 538. agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, l. v. c. i. are too abſurd to merit refutation.

Media.

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Media. Being gradually joined by the ſcattered remnant of his army, amounting to ſeveral thouſand Barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greek mercenaries, he purpoſed to eſtabliſhed his court in Media, ſhould Alexander remain at Suſa or Babylon[52]; but in caſe he were ſtill purſued by the conqueror, his reſolution was to proceed eaſtward, through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria, laying waſte the intermediate country, that he might thus interpoſe a deſert between himſelf and the Macedonians. In this deſign, he diſpatched to the Caſpian Gates the waggons conveying his women, and ſuch inſtruments of convenience or luxury as ſtill ſoftened his misfortunes; and remained in perſon at Ecbatana with his army. Alexander, when appriſed of theſe meaſures, haſtened into Media. In his way he ſubdued the Paritacæ; and having reached within three days march of the Median capital, was met by Biſthanes, the ſon of Ochus, Darius's predeceſſor[53]. This prince informed him, that Darius had fled from thence five days before, attended by three thouſand horſemen, and ſix thouſand foot.

[52] The foundation of this hope was, that a revolt might break out in the Macedonian army; ſince the more and the richer provinces Alexander acquired, his lieutenants would have the greater temptation to aſpire at independence. Subſequent events will juſtify the reaſonable expectation of Darius, which was on this occaſion diſappointed.

[53] Arrian, p. 66. ſpeaks as if Ochus had been Darius's immediate predeceſſor, neglecting the ſhort reign of Arces, the ſon of Ochus, who was poiſoned ſoon after his father by the eunuch Bagoas. Diodor. xvii. 5. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. vi. 8.

Ani-

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Alexander purſues Darius;

Animated by this intelligence, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, in which place he left his treaſures, and poſted a ſtrong garriſon. In this city he likewiſe diſmiſſed the Theſſalian cavalry, and ſeveral auxiliary ſquadrons; paying them, beſides their arrears, a gratuity of two thouſand talents. Such as preferred the glory of accompanying his ſtandard to the joy of reviſiting their reſpective countries, were allowed again to enliſt; a permiſſion which many embraced. A ſtrong detachment under Parmenio was ſent into Hyrcania; Cænus, who had been left ſick at Suſa, was commanded to march with all convenient ſpeed into Parthia; while the king, with a well-appointed army, advanced with incredible expedition [54] in purſuit of Darius. Having paſſed the Caſpian Straits, he was met by Bagiſtanes, a Babylonian of diſtinction, who acquainted him that Beſſus, governor of Bactria, in conjunction with Nabarzanes, an officer in Darius's cavalry, and Barzaentes, ſatrap of the barbarous Drangæ and Arachoti, had thrown aſide all reſpect for a prince, who was no longer an object of fear. Upon this intelligence, Alexander declared expedition to be more neceſſary than ever. Having, therefore, left the heavy-armed troops and baggage under the command of Craterus, he haſtened forward with a few ſelect bands, encumbered only with their arms, and two days proviſions.

54 His marches were thirty-eight and forty miles a day; ſometimes more. Xenophon's expedition of Cyrus, and Arrian's expedition of Alexander, mutually illuſtrate and confirm each other.

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In that ſpace of time, he reached the camp from which Bagiſtanes had deſerted; and finding ſome parties of the enemy there, learned that Darius, being ſeized and bound, was actually carried priſoner in his chariot; that Beſſus, in whoſe province this treaſon had been committed, had aſſumed the imperial honours; that all the Barbarians (Artabazus only and his ſons excepted) already acknowledged the uſurper; that the Greek mercenaries preſerved their fidelity inviolate; but finding themſelves unable to prevent the flagitious ſcenes that were tranſacting, had quitted the public road, and retired to the mountains, diſdaining not only to participate in the deſigns, but even to ſhare the ſame camp with the traitors. Alexander farther learned, that ſhould he purſue Beſſus and his aſſociates, it was their intention to make peace with him by delivering up Darius; but ſhould he ceaſe from the purſuit, that they had determined to collect forces, and to divide the eaſtern provinces of the empire.

who is treacherouſly ſlain. Olymp. cxii. 3. A. C. 330.

Having received this information, Alexander marched all night, and next day till noon, with the utmoſt ſpeed, but without overtaking the enemy. He therefore diſmounted five hundred of his cavalry, placed the braveſt of his foot, completely armed, on horſeback; and commanding Attalus and Nicanor to purſue the great road which Beſſus had followed, advanced in perſon with his choſen band by a nearer way, which was almoſt deſert, and entirely deſtitute of water. The natives of the country were his guides. From the cloſe of the evening

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evening till day-break he had rode near fifty miles, when he firſt diſcovered the enemy flying in diſorder, and unarmed. Probably to facilitate their own eſcape, Satibarzanes and Barzaentes ſtabbed Darius, and then rode away with Beſſus, accompanied by ſix hundred horſe. Notwithſtanding the celerity of Alexander, the unhappy Darius expired before the conqueror beheld him [55]. Darius was the laſt king of the houſe of Hyſtaſpes, and the tenth in ſucceſſion to the monarchy of Cyrus. That he was neither brave nor prudent, his conduct ſufficiently evinces; but the uninterrupted chain of his calamities would have prevented him (had he been otherwiſe inclined) from imitating the injuſtice and cruelty of too many of his predeceſſors [56].

Alexander purſues the murderers of Darius.

In this important ſtage of his fortune, Alexander diſplayed tender ſympathy with affliction, warm eſteem of fidelity, and juſt hatred of treaſon. He

55 Such is the ſimple narration of Arrian. The fictions related by Plutarch in Alexand. & Curtius, l. v. c. xii. & Juſtin, l. xi. c. xv. are inconſiſtent with each other, and all of them betray the deſire to contraſt the exaltation and depreſſion of the fortune of Darius. "He was chained," ſays Curtius, "with golden fetters; but laid in a dirty cart, covered with raw hides." His harangue in praiſe of Alexander would be moral and affecting, were it not totally improbable.

56 Arrian makes this judicious obſervation, which proves the futility of the Oriental traditions repreſenting Darius as a monſter of tyranny and cruelty. See D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orientale, art. Darab. p. 285. Should the faſhionable ſcepticiſm of the times heſitate between theſe authorities, the reader has only to aſk, what Oriental hiſtorian has related the tranſactions of Darius with the fulneſs and accuracy ſo conſpicuous in Arrian?

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gave orders, that the body of Darius ſhould be tranſported to Perſia, and interred in the royal mauſoleum. The children of the deceaſed prince were uniformly treated with thoſe diſtinctions which belonged to their birth; and Barciné[57], his eldeſt daughter, was finally eſpouſed by Alexander. The pardon of the Greek mercenaries, who were admitted into the Macedonian ſervice, and the honourable reception of Artabazus and his ſons, well became the character of a prince, who could diſcern and reward the merit of his enemies. Alexander then purſued the murderers of Darius through the inhoſpitable territories of the Arii and Zarangæi, and in two days accompliſhed a journey of ſix hundred furlongs. Having received the ſubmiſſion of Aornos[58] and Bactria, he paſſed the deep and rapid Oxus, and learned, on the eaſtern banks of this river, that Beſſus, who had betrayed his maſter, had been betrayed in his turn by Spitamenes. The former was ſurpriſed by the Macedonians, and treated with a barbarity[59] better merited by his own crimes, than becoming the character of Alexander.

The Bactrian and Scythian war.

Spitamenes ſucceeded to his ambition and danger. In purſuit of this daring rebel, the reſentment of Alexander hurried him through the vaſt

57 Called by ſome writers Statira.

58 We ſhall meet with another place of this name, between the Suaſtus and the Indus.

59 He was ſtripped naked, whipped, ſhamefully mutilated, &c. Arrian arraigns thoſe cruelties, as unworthy of the Grecian character: but he warmly approves the puniſhing of Beſſus, and the other murderers of Darius.

but

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Olymp. cxii. 4. cxiii. 1. A. C. 328, 329.

but undeſcribed[60] provinces of Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other leſs conſiderable diviſions of the ſouthern region of Tartary. The more northern and independent tribes of that immenſe country, whoſe paſtoral life formed an admirable preparation for war, ventured to take arms againſt a conqueror who hovered on the frontier of their plains, and whoſe camp tempted them with the proſpect of a rich plunder. The policy of Spitamenes inflamed their courage, and animated their hopes. Theſe rude nations, and this obſcure leader, proved the moſt dangerous enemies with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Sometimes they faced him in the field, and after obſtinately reſiſting, retreated ſkilfully. Though never vanquiſhed, Alexander obtained many dear-bought victories. The Scythians, on ſeveral occaſions, ſurpriſed his advanced parties, and interrupted his convoys. The abruptneſs of their attack was only equalled by the celerity of their retreat; their numbers, their courage, and their ſtratagems, all rendered them formidable[61]. But the enlightened intrepidity, and ini-

60 The erroneous geography of the ancients is laborioufly compared with ſubſequent diſcoveries, in the learned work entitled Examen des Anciens Hiſtoriens d'Alexandre; and may be ſeen at one glance, by comparing the maps, uſually prefixed to Quintus Curtius, with the admirable maps of D'Anville.

61 In one action, Arrian tells us, that only forty Macedonian horſemen, and three hundred foot, eſcaped. Arrian, l. iv. Curtius mentions another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the ſlain. Curtius, l. vii. c. vii. Alexander was not preſent in either of theſe engagements; but in a third battle, related by Arrian, the Macedonians were at firſt repelled, many of them wounded, and the king ſtruck with an arrow, which broke the fibula, or leſſer bone of his leg. The Macedonians, however, rallied, and totally defeated the enemy. Arrian, l. iii. ſub fin.

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mitable diſcipline of the Greeks and Macedonians, finally prevailed over Barbarian craft, and deſultory fury. Not contented with repelling his enemies, Alexander croſſed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians[62] on the northern bank of that river. This victory was ſufficient for his renown; and the urgency of his affairs ſoon recalled him from an inhoſpitable deſert.

Alexander finally reduces the

The provinces between the Caſpian and the Jaxartes twice rebelled, and twice were reduced to

62 Before Alexander paſſed the Jaxartes, he received an embaſſy probably from the *Abian* Scythians. Their oration, omitted by all the Greek writers, is preſerved in Curtius, l. vii. c. viii. It is remarkable for the bold elevated ſtyle, in which theſe Barbarians diſplay their own advantages, and deſcribe the deſtructive ambition of the invader. In both reſpects, it agrees with the admirable harangue of the Caledonian chieftain Galgacus, in Tacitus's Life of Agricola. But the glowing ſentiments of thoſe independent and high-minded nations are invigorated by the brevity of Tacitus, and weakened by the diffuſiveneſs of Curtius. Both orations abound in metaphors. "Great trees," ſay the Scythians to Alexander, "require long time to grow: the labour of a few hours levels them with the ground. Take care, leſt, in climbing to the top, you ſhould fall with the branches which you have ſeized. Graſp Fortune with both your hands; ſhe is ſlippery, and cannot be confined. Our countrymen deſcribe her without feet, with hands only, and wings. Thoſe to whom ſhe ſtretches out her hand, ſhe allows not to touch her wings. Rein your proſperity, that you may more eaſily manage it. Our poverty will be ſwifter than your army loaded with ſpoil. We range the plain and the foreſt; we diſdain to ſerve, and deſire not to command." The figurative ſtyle of the Scythians is ſufficiently conſonant to the manners of barbarous nations. See Principii di Scienza nuova, vol. i. p. 156, & ſeqq. See likewiſe Chapters fifth and ſixth of the preſent Hiſtory. Le Clerc, therefore, ſpeaks with equal ignorance and ſeverity, when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he ſays, "Scythæ ipſi, omnium literarum rudes, rhetorico calamiſtro inuſti, in medium prodeunt." Judic. Curt. p. 326.

ſub-

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provinces between the Caſpian and the Jaxartes. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

ſubmiſſion. The Barbarians fighting ſingly were ſucceſſively ſubdued; their braveſt troops were gradually intermixed in the Macedonian ranks; and Alexander, thus continually reinforced by new numbers, was enabled to overawe thoſe extenſive countries, by dividing his army into five formidable brigades, commanded by Hephæſtion, Ptolemy, Perdiccus, Cænus[63], and himſelf. Near Gabæ, a fortreſs of Sogdiana, Cænus attacked and defeated Spitamenes. The Sogdians and Bactrians deſerted their unfortunate general, and ſurrendered their arms to the conqueror. The Maſſagetæ and other Scythians, having plundered the camp of their allies, fled with Spitamenes to the deſert; but being appriſed, that the Macedonians prepared to purſue them, they ſlew this active and daring chief, whoſe courage deſerved a better fate; and in hopes of making their own peace, ſent his head to the conqueror.

Siege of the Sogdian fortreſs; Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly reſiſted Alexander in the open country; but in the provinces of Sogdiana and Parætacene, two important fortreſſes, long deemed impregnable, ſtill bade defiance to the invader. Into the former, Oxyartes the Bactrian, who headed the *rebellion* (for ſo the Macedonians termed the brave defence of the Bactrians), had placed his wife and children. The rock was ſteep, rugged, almoſt inacceſſible, and provided with corn for a long ſiege. The deep

63 Artabazus, the faithful attendant of Darius, and afterwards the friend of Alexander, was joined in the command with Cænus. Arrian.

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ſnow, by which it was ſurrounded, increaſed the difficulty of aſſaulting it, and ſupplied the garriſon with water. Alexander, having ſummoned the Bactrians to ſurrender, was aſked in deriſion, Whether he had furniſhed himſelf with winged ſoldiers? This inſolence piqued his pride; and he determined to make himſelf maſter of the place, with whatever difficulties and dangers his undertaking might be attended. This reſolution was conſonant to his character. His ſucceſs in arms, owing to the reſources of his active and comprehenſive mind, ſometimes encouraged him to enterpriſes, neither juſtified by neceſſity, nor warranted by prudence. Fond of war, not only as an inſtrument of ambition, but as an art in which he gloried to excel, he began to regard the means as more valuable than the end, and ſacrificed the lives of his men to military experiments alike hazardous and uſeleſs: yet, on the preſent occaſion, ſound policy ſeems to have directed his meaſures. Having determined ſoon to depart from thoſe provinces, he might judge it imprudent to leave an enemy behind; it might ſeem neceſſary to deſtroy the ſeeds of future rebellion; and, by exploits unexampled and almoſt incredible, to impreſs ſuch terror of his name, as would aſtoniſh and overawe his moſt diſtant and warlike dependencies.

which is taken by a contrivance equally

Alexander carefully examined the Sogdian fortreſs, and propoſed a reward of twelve talents[64] to the man who ſhould firſt mount the top of the rock

[64] Above £ 2000, equal in value to near £ 20,000 in the preſent age.

on

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ingenious and daring.

on which it was ſituated. The ſecond and third were to be proportionably rewarded, and even the laſt of ten was to be gratified with the ſum of three hundred darics. The hopes of this recompence, which, in the conception of the Greeks and Macedonians, was equally honourable and lucrative, ſtimulated the love of adventure, ſo conſpicuous in both nations. Three hundred men, carefully ſelected from the whole army, were furniſhed with ropes made of the ſtrongeſt flax, and with iron pins uſed in pitching tents. They were likewiſe provided with ſmall pieces of linen, which, being joined together, might ſerve as a ſignal. Thus equipped, they proceeded at the cloſe of evening towards the moſt abrupt ſide of the rock, and therefore the moſt likely to be unguarded. By driving the iron pins into congealed ſnow, and then faſtening to them the ropes, they gradually hoiſted themſelves up the mountain. In this extraordinary enterpriſe, thirty men periſhed, whoſe bodies were ſo profoundly buried in the ſnow, that, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch, they could never afterwards be recovered. By this ſimple contrivance, thoſe daring adventurers gained the ſummit of the rock, which overlooked the fortreſs; and waving their ſignal in the morning, were diſcovered by Alexander. At this joyous ſight, he ſummoned the beſieged to ſurrender to his winged ſoldiers. The Barbarians beheld and trembled; terror multiplied the number of their enemies, and repreſented them as completely armed;

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ed; Alexander was invited to take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs [65].

Alexander's generous treatment of Roxana.

This obſcure and even nameleſs caſtle contained Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, and deemed, next to the ſpouſe of Darius, the greateſt beauty in the Eaſt. Alexander admired her form and her accompliſhments; but even in the fervour of youth, and the intoxication of proſperity, his generous mind diſdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, as juſtified by the maxims and example of his age and country. With a moderation and ſelf-command, worthy the ſcholar of Ariſtotle, he declined the embraces of his captive, till his condeſcending affection raiſed her to the throne, chooſing rather to offend the prejudices of the Macedonians, than to tranſgreſs the laws of humanity [66].

The fortreſs of Chorienes ſurrenders. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

In Bactria, Alexander learned that the Parætacæ were in arms, and that many of his moſt dangerous enemies had ſhut themſelves up in the fortreſs or rock of Chorienes. Upon this intelligence, he haſtened to the Parætacene. The height of the rock, which was everywhere ſteep and craggy, he found to be near three miles, and its circumference above ſeven. It was ſurrounded by a broad and deep ditch, at ſuch diſtance from the baſe as placed the garriſon beyond the reach of miſſile weapons. Alexander gave orders that the fir trees, of extraordinary height, which ſurrounded the mountain, ſhould be cut down, and formed into ladders, by means of which, his men de-

65 Arrian, p. 91, & ſeqq. 66 Id. ibid.

ſcending

ſcending the ditch, drove huge piles into the bottom. Theſe, being placed at proper diſtances, were covered with hurdles of ozier conſolidated with earth. In this occupation his whole army were employed by turns, night and day. The Barbarians at firſt derided this ſeemingly uſeleſs labour. But their inſults were ſoon anſwered by Macedonian arrows. By theſe, and other miſſile weapons, the Macedonians, who were carefully protected by their coverings, ſo much annoyed the beſieged, that the latter became deſirous to capitulate. For this purpoſe, Chorienes, from whom the place derived its name, deſired to converſe with Oxyartes the Bactrian, who, ſince the taking of his wife and children, had ſubmitted to Alexander. His requeſt being granted, Oxyartes ſtrongly exhorted him to ſurrender his fortreſs and himſelf, aſſuring him of Alexander's goodneſs, of which his own treatment furniſhed an eminent example, and declaring that no place was impregnable to ſuch troops and ſuch a general. Chorienes prudently followed this advice; and, by his ſpeedy ſubmiſſion, not only obtained pardon, but gained the friendſhip of Alexander, who again entruſted him with the command of his fortreſs, and the government of his province. The vaſt magazines of corn, meat, and wine, collected by the Parætacæ for a long ſiege, afforded a ſeaſonable ſupply to the Macedonian army, eſpecially during the ſeverity of winter, in a country covered with ſnow many feet deep [67].

[67] Arrian, p. 92.

By

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The virtues displayed by Alexander in making and regulating his conquests.

By ſuch memorable atchievements, Alexander ſubdued the nations between the Caſpian ſea, the river Jaxartes, and the loſty chain of mountains, which ſupply the ſources of the Indus and the Ganges. In the conduct of this remote and dangerous war, the great abilities of the general were conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed. His example taught the troops to deſpiſe hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger; neither rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor ſickneſs, could interrupt his progreſs, or abate his activity: his courage expoſed him to difficulties, from which he was extricated by new efforts of courage, which, in any other commander, would have paſſed for temerity. Amidſt the hardſhips of a military life, obſtinate ſieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he ſtill reſpected the rights of mankind, and practiſed the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; the rigours of deſpotiſm were ſoftened; arts and induſtry encouraged; and the proudeſt Macedonian governors compelled, by the authority and example of Alexander, to obſerve the rules of juſtice towards their meaneſt ſubjects[68]. To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian plains, he founded cities, and eſtabliſhed colonies on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus; and thoſe deſtructive campaigns, uſually aſcribed to his reſtleſs activity and blind ambition, appeared to the diſcernment of this extraordinary man, not only

[68] Plutarch, Arrian, & Curtius, paſſim.

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eſſential to the ſecurity of the conqueſts which he had already made, but neceſſary preparations for more remote and ſplendid expeditions which he ſtill purpoſed to undertake; and which, as will appear in the ſucceeding chapter, he performed with ſingular boldneſs and unexampled ſucceſs.

Commotions in Greece checked by Antipater. Olymp. cxii. 3. A. C. 330.

During the three firſt years that the invincible heroiſm of Alexander triumphed in the Eaſt, the firm vigilance of Antipater repreſſed rebellion in Greece. But the attention of that general being diverted, by a revolt in Thrace, from the affairs of the ſouthern provinces, the Lacedæmonians, inſtigated by the warlike ambition of their king Agis, ventured to exert that hoſtility againſt Macedon which they had long felt and expreſſed. Reinforced by ſome communities of the Peloponneſus, which imprudently liſtened to their counſels, the allied army amounted to twenty-two thouſand men. Antipater, having checked the inſurrection in Thrace, haſtened into the Grecian peninſula with a ſuperior force, and defeated the confederates in a battle, which proved fatal to king Agis, and three thouſand Peloponneſian troops. The vanquiſhed were allowed to ſend ambaſſadors to implore the clemency of Alexander. From that generous prince, the rebellious republics received promiſe of pardon, on condition that they puniſhed with due ſeverity the authors of an unprovoked and ill-judged revolt[69].

Tranquillity of that country

From this period, till the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed, above eight years, an unuſual de-

[69] Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 537. Curtius, l. vi. c. i.

gree

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during the ſubſequent years of Alexander's reign.

gree of tranquillity and happineſs. The ſuſpicious and ſevere temper of Antipater was reſtrained by the commands of his maſter, who, provided the ſeveral republics ſent him their appointed contingents of men to reinforce his armies, was unwilling to exact from them any farther mark of ſubmiſſion. Under the protection of this indulgent ſovereign, to the glory of whoſe conqueſts they were aſſociated, the Greeks ſtill preſerved the forms, and diſplayed the image, of that free conſtitution of government, whoſe ſpirit had animated their anceſtors.

Cteſiphon accuſed by Æſchines, and defended by Demoſthenes. Olymp. cxii. 3. A. C. 330.

While Alexander purſued the murderers of Darius, Athens was crowded with ſpectators from the neighbouring republics, to behold that intellectual conflict between Æſchines and Demoſthenes, whoſe rivalſhip in power and fame had long divided the affections of their countrymen. In conſequence of a decree propoſed by Cteſiphon, Demoſthenes, as above mentioned, had been honoured with a golden crown, as the reward of his political merit. His adverſary had, even before the death of Philip, denounced the author of this decree as a violator of the laws of his country. 1. Becauſe he had decreed public honours to a man actually entruſted with the public money, and who had not yet paſſed his accounts. 2. Becauſe, contrary to law, he had adviſed, that the crown conferred on Demoſthenes, ſhould be proclaimed in the theatre. 3. Becauſe the boaſted ſervices of Demoſthenes had ended in public diſgrace and ruin; and that, inſtead of being rewarded with a crown,

crown, he ought to be puniſhed as a traitor. Various circumſtances, which it is now impoſſible to explain, prevented this important cauſe from being heard by the Athenians, till the ſixth year of the reign of Alexander. The triumph of the Macedonians ſeemed to promiſe every advantage to Æſchines, who had long been the partiſan of Philip, and of his magnanimous ſon; and who, by a ſtroke aimed at Cteſiphon, meant chiefly to wound Demoſthenes, the avowed enemy of both.

Æſchines baniſhed for calumny.

In the oration of Æſchines, we find the united powers of reaſon and argument, combined with the moſt ſplendid eloquence. Yet the perſuaſive vehemence of Demoſthenes prevailed in the conteſt. The unexampled exertions [70], by which he obtained this victory, will be admired to the lateſt ages of the world. To what an exalted pitch of enthuſiaſm muſt the orator have raiſed himſelf and his audience, when, to juſtify his adviſing the fatal battle of Chæronæa, he exclaimed, "No, my fellow-citizens, you have not erred; No! I ſwear it by the manes of thoſe heroes who fought in the ſame cauſe at Marathon and Platæa." What ſublime art was required to arrive, by juſt degrees, at this extraordinary ſentiment, which, in any other light than the inimitable blaze of eloquence with which it was ſurrounded, would appear altogether exceſſive and gigantic?

Generoſity of Demoſthenes.

The orator not only juſtified Cteſiphon and himſelf, but procured the baniſhment of his adver-

[70] See the Orat. de Coron. throughout.

ſary,

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ſary, as the author of a malignant and calumnious accuſation. Honourable as this triumph was, Demoſthenes derived more ſolid glory from the generous treatment of his vanquiſhed rival. Before Æſchines ſet ſail, he carried to him a purſe of money, which he kindly compelled him to accept: a generoſity which made the baniſhed man feel ſeverely the weight of his puniſhment, and affectingly obſerve, "How deeply muſt I regret the loſs of a country, in which enemies are more generous than friends elſewhere!" Æſchines retired to the iſle of Rhodes, and inſtituted a ſchool of eloquence, which flouriſhed ſeveral centuries. It is recorded, that having read to his ſcholars the oration which occaſioned his baniſhment, it was received with extraordinary applauſe. But when this applauſe was redoubled on his reading the anſwer of Demoſthenes, he was ſo far from teſtifying envy, that he exclaimed to his audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard the orator himſelf!"

His death. Olymp. cxiv. 3. A. C. 322.

Demoſthenes ſurvived Alexander, whoſe magnanimity diſdained to puniſh an enemy whom he ſcarcely regarded as dangerous. But this illuſtrious Athenian patriot fell a prey to the more ſuſpicious policy of Antipater. At the deſire of that prince, he was baniſhed Athens, and being purſued by Macedonian aſſaſſins to the little iſland of Calauria, he ended his life by poiſon [71].

The ſentence of the Athe-

It may be thought, that the conqueror of the Perſian empire would have little leiſure, or incli-

[71] Plut. in Demoſthen. & Lucian. Demoſthen. Encom.

nation,

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nation, to attend to a perſonal diſpute between two Athenian orators: and that neither the impeachment nor the defence of Demoſthenes could affect his pride or his intereſt. It deſerves to be conſidered, however, that this orator was the inveterate, and long the ſucceſsful, opponent of the greatneſs of his family; and in the beginning of his own reign, had attempted, with more courage, indeed, than prudence, to overturn the yet unconſolidated pillar of his fortune. But whatever indifference Alexander, who was carefully informed of the tranſactions of Greece, might teſtify amidſt the honours of Demoſthenes, it cannot be believed that he heard with total unconcern the ſentence of the Athenian people; a ſentence which reverſed the deciſion of fortune, and arraigned the cruel and melancholy triumph of Philip over the liberties of Greece. That he never reſented the indignity, is a proof of his moderation; and that the Athenians could venture on a meaſure ſo offenſive, is a proof of the freedom and ſecurity which they enjoyed under the Macedonian government.

nians in favour of Demoſthenes, honourable to the moderation of Alexander.

Deprived indeed of the honour, but alſo delivered from the cares, of independent ſovereignty, and undiſturbed by thoſe continual and often bloody diſſenſions, which deform the annals of their tumultuous liberty, the Greeks indulged their natural propenſity to the ſocial embelliſhments of life; a propenſity by which they were honourably diſtinguiſhed above all other nations of antiquity. Their innumerable ſhows, feſtivals, and dramatic entertainments, were exhibited with more pomp than at

State of Greece during the latter years of the reign of Alexander.

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any former period. The ſchools of philoſophers and rhetoricians were frequented by all deſcriptions of men. Painting and ſtatuary were cultivated with equal ardour and ſucceſs. Many improvements were made in the ſciences; and, as will appear more fully hereafter, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, ſtill rivalled the taſte and genius, though not the ſpirit and virtue, of their anceſtors. Yet even in this degenerate ſtate, when patriotiſm and true valour were extinct, and thoſe vanquiſhed republicans had neither liberties to love, nor country to defend, their martial honours were revived and brightened by an aſſociation with the renown of their conqueror. Under Alexander, their exploits, though directed to very different purpoſes, equalled, perhaps excelled, the boaſted trophies of Marathon and Platæa. By a ſingularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political diſgrace coincides with the moſt ſplendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himſelf a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and, to revenge the wrongs of his nation, he undertook and accompliſhed the moſt extraordinary enterpriſes recorded in the hiſtory of the world.

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Alexander's Indian Expedition.—Route purſued by the Army.—Aornos taken.—Nyſa and Mount Meros.—Alexander paſſes the Indus and Hydaſpes.—Defeats Porus.—Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia.—Paſſes the Aceſines and Hydraotes.—Sangala taken.—Eaſtern Boundary of Alexander's Conqueſts—He ſails down the Hydaſpes.—Takes the Mallian Fortreſs.—His March through the Gedroſian Deſert.—Voyage of Nearchus.—Alexander improves the internal State of his Conqueſts.—Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.—Intermarriages of the Europeans and Aſiatics.—Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon.—His Death, and Character.—Diviſion of his Conqueſts.—Subſequent Hiſtory of Egypt and Syria.—The Weſtern Diviſion of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans.—State of Greece after the Age of Alexander.

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Alexander undertakes his Indian expedition. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

BY juſt views of policy, rather than the madneſs of ambition, Alexander was carried to the rugged banks of the Oxus and the Iaxartes. The fierce nations of thoſe inhoſpitable regions had, in ancient times, repeatedly over-run the more wealthy and more civilized provinces of Aſia. Without diffuſing through the Scythian plains the terror of his name, the conqueror would not have

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ſecurely enjoyed the ſplendour of Suſa and Babylon; nor without the aſſiſtance of numerous and warlike levies, raiſed in thoſe barbarous countries, could he have prudently undertaken his Indian expedition. For this remote and dangerous enterpriſe, he prepared early in the ſpring; Amyntas being appointed governor of Bactria, and entruſted with a ſufficient ſtrength to overawe the ſurrounding provinces.

Traverſes the Paropamiſus.

With all the remainder of his forces, Alexander haſtened ſouthwards, and in ten days march traverſed the Paropamiſus, a link of that immenſe chain of mountains, reaching from the coaſt of Cilicia to the ſea of China. This ſouthern belt, diſtinguiſhed in different portions of its length by the various names of Taurus, Paropamiſus, Imaus, and Edmodus, the Greeks confounded [1] with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucaſus is a part, and whoſe remote branches extend from the ſhores of the Euxine to the eaſtern extremity of Tartary. Such is the ſtrong frame which ſupports the ponderous maſs of Aſia. The intermediate ſpace, eſpecially towards the central country of Bukaria, is far more elevated than any other portion of the Eaſtern continent; and the towering heights of Paropamiſus had hitherto defended (if we except the obſcure expedition of Darius) the feeble majeſty of India againſt the ravagers of the earth. The difficulties of this celebrated journey have,

[1] The errors of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 553. and of Curtius, l. viii. c. iii. are avoided by Arrian, l. v. p. 103. and by Strabo, l. xv. p. 724.

perhaps,

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perhaps, been rather exaggerated than deſcribed, by the hiſtorians of Alexander. Yet our indulgence may pardon the fanciful[2] expreſſions of antiquity, when we read in the work of a modern writer of acknowledged veracity, "Thoſe mountains are covered with ice; the cold which I ſuffered was extreme; the country preſents a melancholy image of death and horror[3]."

Difficulty of penetrating into India by land.

But the rugged nature of the country was not the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had to ſtruggle. The northern regions of India were inhabited in ancient, as they are ſtill in modern times, by men of ſuperior ſtrength and courage[4]; and the vigorous reſiſtance made by the natives of thoſe parts, rendered it as difficult for Alexander to penetrate into the Indian peninſula by land, as it has always been found eaſy by the maritime powers of Europe, to invade and ſubdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coaſts.

Route purſued by Alexander.

The experienced leader ſeems to have conducted his army by the route of Candahar, well known to the caravans of Agra and Iſpahan. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; the greater part he retained under his immediate command; the remainder were detached, under Hephæſtion and Perdiccas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all neceſſary preparations for croſſing that river. After many ſevere conflicts, he ſubdued the Aſpii, Thryræi, Araſaci, and Aſ-

2 Curtius, l. vii. c. iii.

3 See "le Voyage du Pere Deſideri." It was performed in the year 1715. Lettres Edifiantes, xv. 185.

4 Arrian, p. 97, & ſeqq.

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ſaceni; ſcoured the banks of the Choas and Cophenes; expelled the Barbarians from their faſtneſſes; and drove them towards the northern mountains, which ſupply the ſources of the Oxus and the Indus.

Aornos taken.

Near the weſtern margin of the latter, one place, defended by the Baziri[4], ſtill defied his aſſaults. This place, called by the Greeks Aornos, afforded refuge not only to the Baziri, but to the moſt warlike of their neighbours, after their other ſtrongholds had ſurrendered. From its deſcription, it appears to have been admirably adapted to the purpoſe of a long and vigorous defence. Mount Aornos was two hundred furlongs in circuit; eleven in height, where loweſt; acceſſible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock by art; containing, near the top, a plentiful ſpring of water, a thick and lofty wood, together with a ſufficient quantity of arable land to employ the labour of a thouſand men. An emulation of glory prompted Alexander to make himſelf maſter of a place, which fable deſcribed as impregnable to the greateſt heroes of antiquity[5]. By the voluntary aſſiſtance and direc-

4 It is worthy of remark, that the deſcendants of Alexander's followers have been recogniſed in Bijore, the country of the Baziri. Several oriental writers, particularly the author of the Ayin Acbaree, maintain this fact; the bare report of which argues a perfect conviction in the minds of the natives, that Alexander ſubjected Bijore, and transferred his conqueſt to his countrymen. Rennel's Memoir, 2d edition, p. 162.

5 Arrian, p. 98. who ſupplies the particulars in the text, ſays, that he knows not whether it was the Grecian, Tyrian, or Egyptian Hercules, who laid ſiege unſucceſsfully to Aornos. He doubts whether any of them ever penetrated to India; adding, that the name of Hercules appears to him to have been employed, on this occaſion, as in many others, "ως κομπη τε λογε," "as an oſtentatious fiction."

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tion of ſome neighbouring tribes, hoſtile to the Baziri, Ptolemy aſcended part of the rock unperceived; Alexander with his uſual diligence raiſed a mount, erected his engines, and prepared to annoy the enemy. But, before he had an opportunity to employ the reſources of his genius, by which he had taken places ſtill ſtronger than Aornos, the garriſon ſent a herald, under pretence of ſurrendering on terms, but in reality with a view to ſpin out the negociation during the whole day, and in the night to effect their eſcape. Alexander, who ſuſpected this intention, met their art with ſimilar addreſs. Patiently waiting till the Indians deſcended the mountain, he took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong-hold which they had abandoned, having previouſly poſted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, and puniſh their perfidy.

Alexander marches to Nyſa and Mount Meros.

The Macedonians proceeded ſouthward from Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. In this fertile diſtrict, the army, as it advanced towards Mount Meros and the celebrated Nyſa, was met by a deputation from the citizens of that place, which (could we believe hiſtoric flattery) had been founded in the heroic, or rather in the fabulous ages, by a Grecian colony eſtabliſhed by Bacchus at the eaſtern extremity of his conqueſts. Theſe wandering *Greeks*, might we indulge for a moment the ſuppoſition that the inhabitants of Nyſa were really entitled to that name, appear in this Indian ſoil to have degenerated from the courage, while they preſerved the policy, the eloquence, and the artifices, of their European brethren. Being immediately conducted to Alex-

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ander, who had juſt ſat down in his tent, covered with ſweat and duſt, and ſtill armed with his caſque and lance, they teſtified great horror at his aſpect, and threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground. The king having raiſed them from this humiliating poſture, and addreſſed them with his uſual condeſcenſion, they recovered ſufficient boldneſs to entreat him to ſpare their country and their liberties for the ſake of Bacchus their founder. In proof of this allegation, they inſiſted on the name Nyſa, derived from the nurſe [6] of Bacchus, and on the abundance, not only of vines and laurel, but of ivy, which grew in *their* territory, and in no other part of India. Alexander, willing to admit a pretenſion, which might atteſt to ſucceeding ages that he had carried his conqueſts ſtill farther than Bacchus[7], readily

6 The reſpect ſhewn by the Greeks to their nurſes is well known, and is atteſted by the tragedians. In this reſpect, the modern Greeks ſtill imitate their anceſtors. The word employed to ſignify a nurſe, properly denotes "a ſecond mother." See Mr. Gay's Voyage Litteraire de la Grèce.

7 Eratoſthenes the Cyrenean, and many other ancient writers, aſſerted, that the fictions concerning Bacchus's expedition to the Eaſt, were invented by the flatterers of Alexander. But Strabo juſtly obſerves, that the belief of that expedition long preceded the age of the ſon of Philip. To juſtify this obſervation, he cites the verſes of Sophocles and Euripides. The latter of theſe poets, in the prologue to his *Bacchæ*, introduces Bacchus, ſaying, that he had come to Thebes, and adorned with vines the temple of Semele.

Λιπων δε Λυδων τας πολυχρυσους γυας
Φρυγων τε Περσων θ' ηλιοβλητους πλακας,
Βακτρα τε τειχη, την τε δυσχειμον χθονα
Μηδων, επελθων Αραβιαν τ' ευδαιμονα
Ασιαν τε πασαν, η παρ' αλμυραν αλα
Κειται, μιγασιν Ελλησι βαρβαροις θ' ομου
Πληρεις εχουσα καλλιπυργους πολεις.

"Leaving

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readily granted their requeſt. Having underſtood that Nyſa was governed by an ariſtocracy, he demanded, as hoſtages, an hundred of their principal citizens, and three hundred of their cavalry. This demand excited the ſmile of Acuphis, who headed the embaſſy. Alexander deſired him to interpret his ſmile. He replied, "O king! you are welcome to three hundred of our horſemen, and more, ſhould you think proper. But can you believe it poſſible that any city ſhould long continue ſafe, after loſing an hundred of its moſt virtuous citizens? Inſtead of one hundred of the beſt, ſhould you be contented with two hundred of the worſt, men in Nyſa, be aſſured that, at

"Leaving the golden fields of the Lydians, the ſun-beat plains of Phrygia and Perſia, the Bactrian fortreſſes, and the wintry ſtorms of the Medes—having over-run happy Arabia, and the maritime provinces of Aſia, crowned with fair turreted cities, inhabited by mingled Greeks and Barbarians." Sophocles mentions Nyſa in particular. Βρετοισι κλεινην Νυσσαν. Vide Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Notwithſtanding ſuch reſpectable authorities for the vulgar tradition, both Strabo and Arrian treat the expedition of Bacchus to India as a fable; the geographer on the following grounds: 1. Becauſe the relations of authors on this ſubject are totally inconſiſtent. 2. Becauſe many of the writers who accompanied Alexander are altogether ſilent concerning this matter. 3. Becauſe the intermediate countries, between Greece and India, poſſeſs no monuments of this pretended expedition. Strabo, p. 688. The philoſopher and hiſtorian diſcovers his ſentiments to be the ſame with Strabo's, but expreſſes himſelf with more tenderneſs for the popular ſuperſtition, concluding, "ου ακριβη εξεταστεον χρη ειναι των υπερ του θειου, εκ παλαιου, μεμυθευμενων;" "that the *traditions* of the ancients concerning the Gods ought not to be too carefully ſifted." Arrian, p. 101. An obſervation which might have merited the attention of thoſe who, in later times, have ventured to explain hiſtorically, or to analyze, the Grecian mythology.

your

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your return, you will find this country in as flouriſhing a condition as when you left it." Pleaſed with his addreſs, Alexander remitted his demand of the magiſtrates; he was accompanied by the cavalry, and by the ſon and nephew of Acuphis, who were ambitious to learn the art of war under ſuch an accompliſhed general.

Alexander paſſes the Indus, and receives the ſubmiſſion of Taxiles.

The tranſactions which we have deſcribed, and a march of ſixteen days from the Oxus to the Indus, allowed time for Hephæſtion and Perdiccas to make the preparations neceſſary for paſſing the latter river, moſt probably by a bridge of boats[8]. On the eaſtern bank, Alexander received the ſubmiſſion of the neighbouring princes. Of theſe, Taxiles, who was the moſt conſiderable, brought, beſides other valuable preſents, the aſſiſtance of ſeven thouſand Indian horſe, and ſurrendered his capital, Taxila, the moſt wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hydaſpes. But the

[8] Arrian, p. 100 & 103, leaves it uncertain in what manner the bridge was conſtructed. Neither that accurate writer, nor the other careleſs deſcribers of the exploits of Alexander, aſcertain the paſs of the Indus, at which the Macedonians croſſed that river. Major Rennel, late ſurveyor-general of Bengal, has the following obſervations in his excellent memoir on the map of Indoſtan: "I take it for granted, that Alexander croſſed the Indus at the place where the city of Attock now ſtands; as it appears to have been in all ages the paſs on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India . . . Attock muſt then ſtand on the ſite of the Taxila of Alexander. From thence, as his intention ſeems to have been to penetrate by the ſhorteſt way to the Ganges, he would proceed by the ordinary road to that part of the bank of the Hydaſpes (or Behat) where the fortreſs of Rotas now ſtands; and here he put in execution his ſtratagem for croſſing the river, whilſt the oppoſite ſhore was poſſeſſed by Porus." Of which more in the text.

king,

king, who never allowed himſelf to be outdone in generoſity, reſtored and augmented the dominions of Taxiles.

Prepares to paſs the Hydaſpes, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Porus.

The army croſſed the Indus about the time of the ſummer ſolſtice, at which ſeaſon the Indian rivers are ſwelled by heavy rains, as well as by the melted ſnow, which deſcends in torrents from Paropamiſus. Truſting to this circumſtance, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the Shantrou, or Hydaſpes, with thirty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. At an inconſiderable diſtance from the main body, his ſon commanded a detachment, conſiſting of the ſame kind of forces, which were all well accoutred, and excellently diſciplined. Alexander perceived the difficulty of paſſing the Hydaſpes in the face of this formidable hoſt; a difficulty which muſt be greatly increaſed by the elephants, whoſe noiſe, and ſmell, and aſpect, were alike terrible to cavalry. He therefore collected proviſions on the oppoſite bank, and induſtriouſly gave out that he purpoſed to delay paſſing the river till a more favourable ſeaſon. This artifice deluded not the Indians; and Porus kept his poſt. The king next had recourſe to a different ſtratagem. Having poſted his cavalry in ſeparate detachments along the river, he commanded them to raiſe in the night loud ſhouts of war, and to fill the bank with agitation and tumult, as if they had determined at all hazards to effect their paſſage. The noiſe rouſed the enemy, and Porus conducted his elephants where-

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wherever the danger threatened. This ſcene was repeated ſeveral ſucceſſive nights; during which the Barbarians were fatigued and haraſſed by perpetual alarms. Porus diſcovering, as he fondly believed, that nothing was intended by this vain noiſe, but merely to diſturb his repoſe, at length deſiſted from following the motions of the Macedonian cavalry, and remained quiet in his encampment, having ſtationed proper guards on the bank[9].

Diſpoſitions for that purpoſe.

The falſe ſecurity of Porus enabled Alexander to effect his long-meditated purpoſe. At the diſtance of about eighteen miles from his camp, and at the principal winding of the Hydaſpes, there ſtood a lofty rock, thickly covered with trees; and near to this rock, an iſland, likewiſe over-run with wood, and uninhabited. Such objects were favourable for concealment: they immediately ſuggeſted to Alexander the deſign of paſſing the river with a ſtrong detachment, which he reſolved to command in perſon, as he ſeldom did by others what he could himſelf perform; and, amidſt the variety of operations, always claimed for his own, the taſk of importance or danger. The Macedonian phalanx, the new levies from Paropamiſus, together with the Indian auxiliaries, and one diviſion of the cavalry, remained under the command of Craterus. They had orders to amuſe the enemy by making fires in the night, and by preparing openly during day-time to croſs the Hydaſpes. While

9 Arrian, l. v. p. 107, & ſeqq.

theſe

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theſe operations were carrying on by Craterus, Alexander, having collected hides and boats, marched up the country with a choice body of light infantry, the archers and Agrians, the Bactrian, Scythian, and Parthian[10] cavalry, together with a due proportion of heavy-armed troops; the whole a well-aſſorted brigade, adapted to every mode of war required by the nature of the ground, the arms or diſpoſition of the enemy. Having receded from the bank to a diſtance ſufficiently remote for eluding the obſervation of Porus, he advanced towards the rock and iſland; and in this ſecure poſt prepared to embark, after taking ſuch precautions againſt the viciſſitudes of war and fortune, as could be ſuggeſted only by the moſt profound military genius. The orders given to Craterus were preciſe: ſhould the Indians perceive, and endeavour to interrupt the paſſage to the rock and iſland, he was in that caſe to haſten over with his cavalry; otherwiſe not to ſtir from his poſt, until he obſerved Porus advancing againſt Alexander, or flying from the field. At an equal diſtance between the bank, where Alexander meant to paſs, and the camp where Craterus lay, Attalus and Meleager were poſted with a powerful body of mercenaries, chiefly conſiſting of Indian mountaineers, who had been defeated by the Macedonians, and taken into the pay of the conqueror. To provide for any unforeſeen accident, ſentinels

[10] Arrian calls them the Dahæ; they were ἱπποτοξόται, "archers on horſeback." Arrian, l. v. p. 109.

were

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were placed along the bank, at convenient diſtances, to obſerve and repeat ſignals.

The paſſage effected.

Fortune favoured theſe judicious diſpoſitions. A violent tempeſt concealed from the enemy's out-guards the tumult of preparation; the claſh of armour and the voice of command being overpowered by the complicated craſh of rain and thunder. When the ſtorm ſomewhat abated, the horſe and infantry, in ſuch proportions as both the boats and hides could convey, paſſed over, unperceived, into the iſland. Alexander led the line, accompanied in his veſſel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Lyſimachus; names deſtined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repreſſed by the irreſiſtible diffuſion of their maſter's glory.

The king firſt reached the oppoſite bank, in ſight of the enemy's out-guards, who haſtened, in trepidation, to convey the unwelcome intelligence to Porus. The Macedonians meanwhile formed in order of battle; but before meeting their enemies, they had to ſtruggle with an unforeſeen difficulty. The coaſt on which they landed was the ſhore of another iſland, disjoined from the continent by a river commonly fordable, but actually ſo much ſwelled by the rains of the preceding night, that the water reached the breaſts of the men, and the necks of the horſes. Having paſſed this dangerous ſtream with his cavalry and targeteers, Alexander advanced with all poſſible expedition, conſidering, that ſhould Porus offer battle, theſe forces

forces would reſiſt till joined by the heavy infantry; but ſhould the Indians be ſtruck with panic at his unexpected paſſage of the Hydaſpes, the light-armed troops would thus arrive in time to attack and purſue them with advantage.

Porus's ſon defeated and ſlain.

Upon the firſt alarm given by his out-guards, Porus detached his ſon to oppoſe the landing of the enemy with two thouſand horſe, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. Theſe forces, arriving too late to defend the bank, were ſpeedily broken and put to flight by the equeſtrian archers; their leader and four hundred horſemen were ſlain; moſt of the chariots were taken; the ſlime of the river, which rendered them unſerviceable in the action, likewiſe interrupting their flight.

Diſpoſitions made by Porus for reſiſting the enemy.

The ſad news of this diſcomfiture deeply afflicted Porus; but his immediate danger allowed not time for reflection. Craterus viſibly prepared to paſs the river, and to attack him in front; his flanks were threatened with the ſhock of the Macedonian horſe, elated by recent victory. In this emergency the Indian appears to have acted with equal prudence and firmneſs. Unable to oppoſe this complicated aſſault, he left part of the elephants under a ſmall guard, to frighten, rather than reſiſt, Craterus's cavalry; while, at the head of his whole army, he marched in perſon to meet the more formidable diviſion of the enemy, commanded by their king. His horſe amounted to four, and his foot to thirty, thouſand; but the part of his ſtrength in which he ſeemed moſt to confide, conſiſted of three hundred armed chariots, and

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two hundred elephants. With theſe forces, Porus advanced, until he found a plain ſufficiently dry and firm for his chariots to wheel. He then arranged his elephants at intervals of an hundred feet; in theſe intervals he placed his infantry, a little behind the line. By this order of battle, he expected to intimidate the enemy, ſince their horſe, he thought, would be deterred from advancing at ſight of the elephants; and their infantry, he imagined, would not venture to attack the Indians in front, while they muſt be themſelves expoſed to be attacked in flank, and trampled under foot by thoſe terrible animals. At either extremity of the line, the elephants bore huge wooden towers, filled with armed men. The cavalry formed the wings, covered in front with the armed chariots.

Skilful manœuvres of the Macedonian army.

Alexander by this time appeared at the head of the royal cohort and equeſtrian archers. Perceiving that the enemy had already prepared for battle, he commanded a halt, until the heavy-armed troops ſhould join. This being effected, he allowed them time to reſt and recover ſtrength, carefully encircling them with the cavalry; and meanwhile examined, with his uſual diligence, the diſpoſition of the Indians. Upon obſerving their order of battle, he immediately determined, not to attack them in front, in order to avoid encountering the difficulties which Porus had artfully thrown in his way; and at once reſolved on an operation, which, with ſuch troops as thoſe whom he commanded, could ſcarcely fail to prove de-

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ciſive. By intricate and ſkilful manœuvres, altogether unintelligible to the Indians, he moved imperceptibly towards their left wing with the flower of his cavalry. The remainder, conducted by Cænus, ſtretched towards the right, having orders to wheel at a given diſtance, that they might attack the Indians in rear, ſhould they wait to receive the ſhock of Alexander's ſquadrons. A thouſand equeſtrian archers directed their rapid courſe towards the ſame wing; while the Macedonian foot remained firm in their poſts, waiting the event of this complicated aſſault, which appears to have been conducted with the moſt preciſe obſervance of time and diſtance.

The battle of the Hydaſpes.

The Indian horſe, haraſſed by the equeſtrian archers, and expoſed to the danger of being ſurrounded, were obliged to form into two diviſions, of which one prepared to reſiſt Alexander, and the other faced about to meet Cænus. But this evolution ſo much diſordered their ranks and dejected their courage, that they were totally unable to ſtand the ſhock of the Macedonian cavalry, which ſurpaſſed them as much in ſtrength, as it excelled them in diſcipline. The fugitives took refuge, as behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. Theſe fierce animals were then conducted againſt the enemy's horſe; which movement was no ſooner obſerved by the infantry, than they ſeaſonably advanced, and galled the aſſailants with darts and arrows. Wherever the elephants turned, the Macedonians opened their ranks, finding it dangerous

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to reſiſt them with a cloſe and deep phalanx. Meanwhile, the Indian cavalry rallied, and were repelled with greater loſs than before. They again ſought the ſame friendly retreat; but their flight was now intercepted, and themſelves almoſt intirely ſurrounded, by the Macedonian horſe; at the ſame time that the elephants, having loſt their riders, enraged at being pent up within a narrow ſpace, and furious, through their wounds, proved more formidable to friends than foes, becauſe the Macedonians, having the advantage of an open ground, could every where give vent to their fury [11].

The Indians defeated.

The battle was decided before the diviſion, under Craterus, paſſed the river. But the arrival of theſe freſh troops rendered the purſuit peculiarly deſtructive. The unfortunate Porus loſt both his ſons, all his captains, twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. The elephants, ſpent with fatigue, were ſlain or taken; even the armed chariots were hacked in pieces, having proved leſs formidable in reality than appearance, could we believe that little more than three hundred men periſhed on the ſide of Alexander. An obvious inconſiſtency too often appears in the hiſtorians of that conqueror [12]. With a view to enhance his merit, they deſcribe and exaggerate the valour and reſiſtance of his enemies;

[11] Arrian, p. 112.

[12] See Arrian, p. 113. The obſervation applies not, however, to that hiſtorian, but rather to Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus, from whom he derived his materials; nor could it be expected that thoſe generals ſhould preſerve perfect impartiality in relating the exploits of a maſter whom they admired.

but,

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but, in computing the numbers of the ſlain, they become averſe to allow this valour and reſiſtance to have produced any adequate effects.

Courage and magnanimity of Porus.

The Indian king having behaved with great gallantry in the engagement, was the laſt to leave the field. His flight being retarded by his wounds, he was overtaken by Taxiles, whom Alexander entruſted with the care of ſeizing him alive. But Porus, perceiving the approach of a man, who was his ancient and inveterate enemy, turned his elephant, and prepared to renew the combat. Alexander then diſpatched to him Meroe, an Indian of diſtinction, who, he underſtood, had formerly lived with Porus in habits of friendſhip. By the entreaties of Meroe, the high-minded prince, ſpent with thirſt and fatigue, was finally perſuaded to ſurrender; and being refreſhed with drink and repoſe, was conducted to the preſence of the conqueror. Alexander admired his ſtature (for he was above ſeven feet high) and the majeſty of his perſon; but he admired ſtill more his courage and magnanimity. Having aſked in what he could oblige him? Porus anſwered, "By acting like a king." "That," ſaid Alexander with a ſmile, "I ſhould do for my own ſake, but what can I do for your's?" Porus replied, "All my wiſhes are contained in that one requeſt [13]." None ever

Rewarded by Alexander.

[13] The modern hiſtories of Alexander univerſally miſrepreſent this conference. All of them, as far as I know, make Porus ſay, "that he deſires to be treated like a king:" an explanation which cannot be reconciled with Alexander's reply, Τουτο μεν εγαι σοι Πωρε εμε ενεκα· συ δε σαυτε ενεκα ὁ, τι σοι φιλον αξιω? "I will

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ever admired virtue more than Alexander. Struck with the firmneſs of Porus, he declared him reinſtated on his throne; acknowledged him for his ally and his friend; and having ſoon afterwards received the ſubmiſſion of the Glauſæ, who poſſeſſed thirty-ſeven cities on his eaſtern frontier, the leaſt of which contained five thouſand, and many of the greateſt above ten thouſand inhabitants, he added this populous province to the dominions of his new confederate. Immediately after the battle, he interred the ſlain, performed the accuſtomed ſacrifices, and exhibited gymnaſtic and equeſtrian games on the banks of the Hydaſpes. Before leaving that river, he founded two cities, Nicæa and Bucephalia; the former was ſo called, to commemorate the victory gained near the place where it ſtood; the latter, ſituate on the oppoſite bank, was named in honour of his horſe Bucephalus [14], who died there, worn out by age and fatigue. A large diviſion of the army remained under the command of Craterus, to build and fortify theſe new cities.

Foundation of Nicæa and Bucephalia.

" I will act towards you, O Porus! as becomes a king, on my own account: but what do you deſire that I ſhould do on your's?"

14 This generous animal, who had ſo long ſhared the toils and dangers of his maſter, had formerly received ſignal marks of royal regard. Having diſappeared in the country of the Uxii, Alexander iſſued a proclamation, commanding his horſe to be reſtored, otherwiſe he would ravage the whole country with fire and ſword. This command was immediately obeyed. " So dear," ſays Arrian, " was Bucephalus to Alexander, and ſo terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians." Arrian, p. 114.

In

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Alexander paſſes the Aceſines and Hydraotes.

In promoting the ſucceſs of Alexander, the fame of his generoſity conſpired with the power of his arms. Without encountering any memorable reſiſtance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Aceſines and the Hydraotes. In effecting this conqueſt, the obſtacles of nature were the principal, or rather the only, enemies, with whom he had to contend. The river Aceſines, fifteen furlongs broad, is deep and rapid; many parts of its channel are filled with large and ſharp rocks, which, oppoſing the rapidity of the ſtream, occaſion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally formidable, and ſtill more dangerous. Of the Macedonians, who attempted to paſs in boats, many drove againſt the rocks, and periſhed; but ſuch as employed hides, reached the oppoſite ſhore in ſafety. The Hydraotes is of the ſame breadth with the Aceſines, but flows with a gentle current. On its eaſtern bank, Alexander learned that the Cathaei, Malli, and other independent Indian tribes, prepared to reſiſt his progreſs. They had encamped on the ſide of the hill, near the city Sangala, two days march from the Hydraotes; and, inſtead of a breaſt-work, had fortified themſelves with a triple row of carriages. Alexander advanced with his cavalry; the Indians ſtirred not from their poſt, but, mounting their carriages, poured forth a ſhower of miſſile weapons. Alexander perceiving the cavalry unfit for ſuch an attack, immediately diſmounted, and conducted a battalion of foot

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againſt the enemy. The lines were attacked, where weakeſt; ſome paſſages were opened; the Macedonians ruſhed in; and the Indians, being ſucceſſively driven from their triple barrier, fled in precipitation to Sangala.

Sangala beſieged and taken.

The walls of that place were too extenſive to be completely inveſted. On one ſide, the town was ſkirted by a lake, long and broad, but not deep. Alexander ſuſpecting that the Indians, intimidated by their former defeat, would attempt to eſcape in the night, cauſed the lake to be ſurrounded with his cavalry. This precaution was attended with ſucceſs. The foremoſt of the Indians were cut to pieces by the advanced guards of the Macedonian horſe; the reſt eſcaped with difficulty to Sangala. Alexander then inveſted the greateſt part of the town with a rampart and a ditch, and prepared to advance his engines to batter the walls, when he was informed by ſome deſerters, that the enemy ſtill reſolved, that very night, to ſteal, if poſſible, through the lake; if not, to force their way with their whole ſtrength. Upon this intelligence Alexander poſted Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, with three thouſand targeteers, one troop of archers, and all the Agrians, upon the ſpot where he ſagaciouſly conjectured that the beſieged would attempt to force their paſſage. At the firſt ſound of the trumpet, the other commanders were to advance to the aſſiſtance of Ptolemy. Alexander declared his intention to ſhare the common danger. By this judicious diſpoſition, the enemy were

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ſucceſsfully repelled, after leaving five hundred men on the place. Meanwhile Porus, Alexander's principal ally in thoſe parts, arrived in the camp with five thouſand Indians, and a conſiderable number of elephants. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the ſiege. The engines were got ready; the wall, built of brick, was undermined; the ſcaling ladders were fixed; ſeveral breaches were made; and the town was taken by aſſault. Seventeen thouſand Indians are ſaid to have periſhed in the ſack of Sangala; above ſeventy thouſand were taken priſoners; Sangala was razed; its confederates ſubmitted or fled. Above an hundred Macedonians fell in the ſiege or aſſault; twelve hundred were wounded.

Eaſtern boundary of Alexander's conqueſts.

The perſevering intrepidity of Alexander thus rendered him maſter of the valuable country, now called the Punjab, watered by the five great ſtreams whoſe confluence forms the Indus[15]. The banks of the Hyphaſis, the moſt eaſtern of theſe rivers, which he actually intended to croſs, allured by the flattering deſcription of the adjoining territory,

[15] The annals of the Gentoos diſtinguiſh Alexander by the epithets of Mhaabah, Dukkoyt, and Kooneah, "the great robber and aſſaſſin;" but moſt of the Oriental traditions are highly honourable to that prince, and extol his humanity not leſs than his proweſs. The high idea entertained of him by the Indians, appears from their aſcribing to his taſte and magnificence the moſt remarkable monuments ſcattered over their immenſe country. See l'Examen Critique, p. 143, & ſeqq. M. Anquetil's Zend-Aveſta, t. i. p. 392. and Mr. Howell's Religion of the Gentoos, P. ii. p. 5.

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were adorned by twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greateſt towers in that country. Theſe monuments, erected midway between Delhi and Lahor[16], marked the extremity

16 Probably near the place where the great weſtern road paſſes between thoſe cities. See D'Anville Geogr. Ancienne, and Gibbon's Hiſt. vol. i. c. ii. Major Rennel, however, in his excellent Memoir on the new Map of Hindoſtan, aſſigns reaſons for believing that Alexander was not ſo high up the river. "After croſſing," ſays he, "the Aceſines, or Jenaub, and the Hydraotes or Ravee, which latter he may be ſuppoſed to croſs at the place where Lahor now ſtands, he appears to be drawn out of the direct route towards the Ganges, to attack the city of Sangala, moſt probably lying between Lahor and Moultan. From Sangala he proceeded to the Hyphaſis, or Setlege, moſt probably between Adjodin and Debalpour, by the circumſtance of the deſerts lying between him and the Ganges; for the country between the Beath and the Ganges is fertile and well inhabited, but that between the lower parts of the Setlege and the Ganges, has really a deſert in it, as Timur experienced in his march from Adjodin to Balnir. The diſtance between Alexander's poſition on the Hyphaſis and the Jumma, as given by Pliny, accords with this opinion. He gives it as three hundred and thirty-ſix Roman miles, which, by a proper proportional ſcale, formed from his diſtances in known places, reaches from the banks of the Jumma to a point a little below the conflux of the Beath and Setlege. But had Alexander been as high up the river as the place where the great weſtern road croſſes from Lahor to Delhi, he would have been only two hundred and fifty ſuch miles from the Jumma. This opinion is ſtrengthened by the account of what happened immediately after; I mean his recroſſing the Hydraotes, and then encamping on the bank of the Aceſines, in a low ſituation, and where the whole country was flooded on the coming on of the periodical rains; which circumſtance obliged him to move his camp higher up the river, into a more elevated country. This agrees perfectly with the deſcription of the country. The lower parts of the courſes of the Jenaub and Ravee are really through a low country; and theſe are alſo the parts neareſt to Adjodin and Debalpour, between

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extremity of Alexander's empire; an empire thus limited, not by the difficulties of the country, or the oppoſition of enemies, but by the immoveable and unanimous reſolution of his European troops.

Alexander ſails down the Hydaſpes, accompanied by his army. Olymp. cxiii. 3. A. C. 326.

Invincible by his enemies, Alexander ſubmitted to his friends, at whoſe deſire he ſet bounds to his trophies in the Eaſt. But his reſtleſs curioſity prepared new toils and dangers for the army and himſelf. Having returned to the cities Nicæa and Bucephalia, he divided his forces, for the ſake of exploring more carefully the unknown regions of India. Two diviſions, reſpectively commanded by Craterus and Hephæſtion (for Cænus was now dead), had orders to march ſouthward along the oppoſite banks of the Hydaſpes. Philip, to whom he had committed the government of the provinces adjacent to Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole Mace-

tween which places, I ſuppoſe, Alexander's altars were erected." It is rather unfortunate for this ingenious conjecture, that the deſert on the eaſtern bank of the Hyphaſis, between Alexander and the Ganges, is to be found only in the inaccurate compilation of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 612. (whoſe narrative of Alexander's expedition is as much inferior to Arrian's as his imperfect and inconſiſtent account of the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thouſand, is inferior to the admired Anabaſis of Xenophon), and in the romantic deſcription of Curtius, l. ix. c. ii. The exiſtence of ſuch a deſert, at the extremity of Alexander's conqueſts, is contradicted by the circumſtantial and ſatisfactory narrative of Arrian, l. v. p. 119. who ſays, "that the country beyond the Hyphaſis was rich and fertile, the inhabitants induſtrious and brave; governed by a moderate ariſtocracy; flouriſhing in peace and plenty; poſſeſſing a great number of elephants, and thoſe of ſuperior ſtrength and ſtature."

donian

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donian conqueſts in India, including ſeven nations and above two thouſand cities, were ſubjected to the dominion of Porus. Meanwhile the Ionians, Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other maritime nations, who followed the ſtandard of Alexander, induſtriouſly built, or collected, above two thouſand veſſels[17], for ſailing down the Hydaſpes till

17 "It may appear extraordinary," ſays Mr. Rennel, "that Alexander ſhould, in the courſe of a few months, prepare ſo vaſt a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; eſpecially as it is ſaid to be the work of his army. But the Punjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers, which communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Caſhmere to Tatta, and no doubt abounded with boats and veſſels ready conſtructed to the conqueror's hands. I think it probable too, that the veſſels in which Nearchus performed his coaſting voyage to the Gulph of Perſia, were found in the Indus. Veſſels of one hundred and eighty tons burden are ſometimes uſed in the Ganges; and thoſe of one hundred not unfrequently." It is worthy of obſervation, that this judicious conjecture of Mr. Rennel is juſtified by the words of Arrian. In ſpeaking of the number of veſſels, he ſays, και ὁσα αλλα ποταμια, η των πλαι πλεοντων κατα τους ποταμους, η εν τω τοτε ποιηθεντων, p. 124. The veſſels employed by Alexander appear, therefore, to have been partly collected on the Indian rivers, and partly conſtructed for the occaſion. They were, 1. Long ſhips, for the purpoſe of war; 2. Round ſhips, for carrying proviſions, baggage, &c.; and, 3. ἱππαγωγα πλοια, veſſels for tranſporting horſes. Mr. Rennel's conjecture can only relate to the ſhips of burden. That the two other kinds were built by the Ionians and iſlanders, appears from Arrian, p. 124 & 181. The account of Alexander's embarkation, given in Arrian's expedition of Alexander, as well as in his Indian hiſtory, is inconſiſtent with the relation of Curtius, l. ix. c. iii. with that of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 563. and that of Juſtin, l. xii. c. ix. The narrative of Arrian is, however, confirmed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 1023. That accurate geographer informs us, that the fleet was conſtructed near the cities which Alexander had built on each ſide the Hydaſpes; and that the timber, chiefly pine, fir, and cedar, was brought from a wood near to Mount Emodus.

its

its junction with the Indus, and thence along that majeſtic ſtream to the Indian ocean. On board this fleet the king embarked in perſon with the third diviſion of his forces. His navigation employed ſeveral months, being frequently retarded by hoſtilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the Malli. Theſe Barbarians were driven from the open country; their cities were ſucceſſively beſieged and taken; but, at the ſtorm of their capital, a ſcene was tranſacted, which would have indicated madneſs in any other general, and which betrayed temerity even in Alexander.

Extraordinary adventure in beſieging the Mallian fortreſs.

When their ſtreets were filled with the enemy, the Malli took refuge in their citadel. This fortreſs was defended by a thick wall, which being thrown around the declivity of a mountain, was extremely lofty without, but towards the inner circumference of an inconſiderable height. Alexander, provoked by the obſtinacy of the Indians, commanded the ſcaling-ladders to be applied with all poſſible expedition. But this ſervice being performed more tardily than uſual, the king, in his anger, ſnatched a ladder from one who carried it, and having faſtened it to the wall, mounted with rapidity in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their general, followed in ſuch numbers, that the ladder broke as Alexander reached the ſummit; the ſame accident happened to other ladders which were haſtily applied, and injudiciouſly crowded. For ſome moments, the king thus remained alone on the wall, conſpicuous by the brightneſs of his arms,

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arms, and the *extravagance*[18] of his valour, expoſed to thick vollies of hoſtile darts from the adjacent towers. His reſolution was more than daring. At one bound he ſprang into the place, and poſting himſelf at the wall, ſlew the chief of the Malli, and three others, who ventured to aſſault him. Meanwhile Abreas, Leonnatus, and Peuceſtas, the only Macedonians who had got ſafe to the top of the wall, imitated the example of Alexander. Abreas was wounded and fell; his companions, regardleſs of their own ſafety, defended the king, whoſe breaſt had been pierced with an arrrow. They were ſoon covered with wounds, and Alexander ſeemed ready to expire. By this time, the Macedonians had burſt through the gates of the place. Their firſt concern was to carry off the king; the ſecond to revenge his death, for they believed the wound to be mortal, as breath iſſued forth with his blood. Some report, that the weapon was extracted by Critodemus of Cos; others, that no ſurgeon being near, Perdiccas, of the life-guards, opened the wound with his ſword, by his maſter's command. The great effuſion of blood threatened his immediate diſſolution; but a ſeaſonable fainting fit, ſuſpending the circulation, ſtopped the diſcharge, of blood, and ſaved the life of Alexander. The affectionate admiration in which he was held by his troops, appeared in their

[18] Τῳ ατοπῳ της τολμης; literally, "the abſurdity of his valour," could our idiom admit ſuch an expreſſion; ατοπος properly ſignifies "what has no place in nature." It is commonly tranſlated *abſurd*, but may here mean *ſupernatural*.

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gloomy ſadneſs during his danger, and their immoderate joy at his recovery [19].

Marches through the Gedroſian deſert. Olymp. cxii. 4. A. C. 325.

Having performed his intended voyage to the ocean, and provided neceſſaries for a long march, Alexander determined to proceed towards Perſepolis, through the barren ſolitudes of Gedroſia. This arduous deſign was not inſpired by an idle ambition to ſurpaſs the exploits of Cyrus and Semiramis, whoſe armies were ſaid to have periſhed in thoſe deſerts, but prompted by the neceſſity of ſupplying with water, the firſt European fleet which navigated the Indian ſea, explored the Perſian gulph, and examined the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This important voyage was performed, and afterwards related, by Nearchus [20], whoſe enterpriſing genius was worthy of the maſter whom he ſerved. In diſcovering the ſea and the land, the fleet and army of Alexander mutually aſſiſted each other. By the example of the king, both

Voyage of Nearchus.

19 The extraordinary adventure related in the text, is ſaid by Curtius, l. ix. c. iv. to have happened in ſtorming a city of the Oxydracæ. Lucian (Dial. mort.) & Pauſan. (Attic.) agree with Curtius. But theſe are feeble authorities compared with Arrian, l. vi. p. 127, & ſeqq. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1026.

20 Nearchus was a native of Crete, but had long reſided in Amphipolis. The journal of his celebrated voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, is preſerved in Arrian's Indian hiſtory, from c. xx. to c. xli. incluſively. Seven months were employed in this voyage, during three of which the fleet kept the ſea. Nearchus ſailed in the month of September, and arrived in April in the Euphrates. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. vi. c. xxiii. The relation of this illuſtrious admiral has been called in queſtion by Dodwell, Hardouin, and others: but its authenticity is confirmed by the incomparable D'Anville. See Recherch. Geog. ſur le Golfe Perſique, Acad. des Inſcrip. t. xxx. p. 133.

were

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were taught to deſpiſe toil and danger. On foot, and encumbered with his armour, he traverſed the tempeſtuous ſands of the Perſian coaſt, ſharing the hunger, thirſt, and fatigue of the meaneſt ſoldier[21]; nor was it till after a march of two months, diſtinguiſhed by unexampled hardſhips, that the army emerged into the cultivated province of Carmania.

Alexander is joined in Carmania by various diviſions of his army.

In this country Alexander was met by a diviſion of his forces, which he had ſent under the command of Craterus through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ. Staſanor and Phrataphernes, governors of thoſe warlike nations, and of the more northern provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, brought a ſeaſonable ſupply of camels and other beaſts of burthen, to relieve the exigencies of an army enfeebled by diſeaſe and exhauſted by fatigue. The waſte of men, occaſioned by this deſtructive expedition[22], was repaired by the ar-

21 Parties were continually employed, on all ſides, in ſearching for water. On one occaſion, they were more unfortunate than uſual; the heat of the ſun was exceſſive, and reflected by the ſcorching ſand; Alexander marched on foot, parched with thirſt, exhauſted by fatigue, and oppreſſed by care. Amidſt theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, ſome ſoldiers diſcovering a ſmall quantity of turbid water brought it in great haſte to the king. He received the preſent with thanks, then poured it on the ground; and the water, thus ſpilt, refreſhed not only Alexander, but the whole army. Arrian, p. 141.

22 Plutarch ſays, that the march through Gedroſia coſt Alexander near one hundred thouſand men; a palpable exaggeration, ſince he ſuppoſes the whole army, at their departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe; of which one diviſion embarked with Nearchus, and another marched, under the command of Craterus, through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ; little more than a third part of the whole number entered the Gedroſian deſerts.

rival

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rival of numerous battalions from Media, which rendered the ſtandard of Alexander ſufficiently reſpectable. Cleander and Sitalus, the commanders of thoſe forces, were accuſed by the Medes of deſpoiling their temples, ranſacking their tombs, and committing other deteſtable deeds of avarice and cruelty. Their own ſoldiers confirmed the accuſation; and their crimes were puniſhed with death. This prompt juſtice gave immediate ſatisfaction, and ſerved as a ſalutary example in future; for, of all the rules of government, practiſed by this illuſtrious conqueror, none had a ſtronger tendency to confirm his authority, and conſolidate his empire, than his vigilance to reſtrain the rapacity of his lieutenants, and to defend his ſubjects from oppreſſion [23].

He puniſhes the miſconduct of his generals.

Among the fables which give the air of romance to the memorable exploits of Alexander, we may reckon the triumphant proceſſion through Carmania. In imitation of Bacchus, Alexander is ſaid to have traverſed this province, amidſt dancing and muſic, crowned with flowers, intoxicated with wine, and indulging, with his followers, the utmoſt extravagance of diſorder and folly [24]. The revel continued ſeven days, during which a

Improbable account of the march through Carmania.

[23] Και τυτο, ειπερ τι αλλο, κατισχεν εν κοσμω τα εθνη τα εξ Αλεξανδρε, δορυαλωτα, η εκοντα προσχωρησαντα, τοσαυτα μεν πληθει οντα, τοσον δε αλληλων αφεστηκοτα· οτι ουκ εξην υπο τη Αλεξανδρε βασιλειᾳ αδικεισθαι τους αρχομενους υπο των αρχοντων. Arrian, l. vi. p. 143. "This, eſpecially, kept in awe the nations that were either ſubdued by Alexander, or that voluntarily ſubmitted to him (numerous and remote as they were); that, under the reign of this prince, the governors durſt not injure the governed."

[24] Plut. in Alexand. Diodor. p. 573.

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ſmall body of ſober men might have overwhelmed this army of bacchanals, and avenged the cauſe of Darius and of Aſia[25]. Were not this improbable fiction diſcountenanced by the ſilence of contemporary writers[26], it would be refuted by its own abſurdity. Inſtead of yielding to the tranſports of mad joy, Alexander, whoſe heart was extremely ſuſceptible of compaſſion, muſt have been deeply afflicted by the recent loſs of ſo many brave men; and the neceſſity of his affairs, to which he was ever duly attentive, admitted not of unſeaſonable delay.

Puniſhment of the governors of Babylon, Perſepolis, and Suſa.

Encouraged by the long abſence of their maſter, and the perils to which his too adventurous character continually expoſed his life, Harpalus, Orſines, and Abulites, who were reſpectively governors of Babylon, Perſepolis, and Suſa, began to deſpiſe his orders, and to act as independent princes, rather than accountable miniſters. In ſuch emergencies, Alexander knew by experience the advantage of celerity. He therefore divided his army. The greater part of the heavy-armed troops were entruſted to Hephæſtion, with orders to proceed along the ſea-coaſt, and to attend the motions of the fleet commanded by Nearchus. With the remainder, the king haſtened to Paſargadæ. Orſines was convicted of many enormous crimes, which were puniſhed with as enormous ſeverity[27].

[25] Curtius, l. ix. c. x.

[26] Arrian informs us, that neither Ptolemy nor Ariſtobulus make the leaſt mention of this extraordinary tranſaction, which he treats with proper contempt. Vid. Arrian, p. 143.

[27] Arrian, who excuſes Alexander's adopting the Perſian manners, repeatedly blames him for imitating the Barbarian puniſhments.

Baryaxes,

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Baryaxes, a Mede, who had aſſumed the royal tiara, ſuffered death; his numerous adherents ſhared his fate. The return of Alexander from the Eaſt proved fatal to Abulites, and his ſon Oxathres, who, during the abſence of their maſter, had cruelly oppreſſed the wealthy province of Suſiana, and particularly the inhabitants of the capital. Harpalus, whoſe conduct at Babylon had proved equally flagitious, eſcaped with his treaſures to Athens: the avarice of the Athenians engaged them to receive this wealthy fugitive; but their fears forbade them to harbour the enemy of Alexander. By a decree of the people, he was expelled from Attica, and this traitor to the moſt generous of princes ſeems himſelf to have been ſoon afterwards treacherouſly ſlain[28]. The brave Peuceſtas, who had ſaved Alexander's life at the aſſault of the Mallian fortreſs, was promoted to the government of Perſia. In this important command, he ſhowed that the virtues of ſound policy are not incompatible with the moſt adventurous valour,

Peuceſtas rewarded.

[28] Comp. Curtius, l. x. c. ii. Plut. in Demoſthen. Diodor. l. xviii. p. 19. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 576. But all theſe writers omit the firſt crime of Harpalus, mentioned by Arrian, the pardon of which does great honour to the clemency of Alexander. Harpalus, even in the life-time of Philip, had gained the friendſhip of his illuſtrious ſon, who, ſoon after mounting the throne, employed him as his treaſurer. But, before the battle of Iſſus, this unworthy miniſter betrayed his truſt, and fled to Megara. Alexander, unwilling haſtily to condemn an old friend, who had for his ſake incurred the reſentment of Philip, aſcribed the miſconduct of Harpalus to the bad counſels of Tauriſcus, a daring villain, who had accompanied his flight. After the death of Tauriſcus, he prevailed on Harpalus again to return to his ſervice, and again entruſted him with the cuſtody of his treaſures. Arrian, l. iii. c. vi.

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By conforming to the cuſtoms, adopting the manners, and uſing the language of the vanquiſhed, he acquired the affectionate reſpect of the people committed to his care. His pliant condeſcenſion, directed by ſound policy, was highly approved by the diſcernment of Alexander; but his affectation of foreign manners greatly offended the pride of his Macedonian countrymen.

Alexander improves the internal ſtate of his conqueſts. Olymp. cxiii. 4. A. C. 325.

In the central provinces of his empire, which from time immemorial had been the ſeat of Aſiatic pomp and luxury, Alexander ſpent the laſt, and not the leaſt glorious, year of his reign. In the nervous language of antiquity, the world was ſilent in his preſence; and his only remaining care was to improve and conſolidate his conqueſts. For theſe important purpoſes, he carefully examined the courſe of the Eulæus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the indefatigable induſtry of his troops was judiciouſly employed in removing the weirs, or dams, by which the timid ignorance of the Aſſyrian and Perſian kings had obſtructed the navigation of thoſe great rivers. But Alexander, having no reaſon to dread fleets of war, wiſhed to invite thoſe of commerce. The harbours were repaired; arſenals were conſtructed; a baſon was formed at Babylon ſufficient to contain a thouſand gallies. By theſe and ſimilar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal intercourſe among his central provinces, while, by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the Eaſt, with the moſt remote regions of the earth. His ſhips were ſent to explore

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plore the Perſian and Arabian gulphs. Archias brought him ſuch accounts of the former, that he determined to plant its ſhores with Grecian colonies. Hieron of Soli proceeded fartheſt in examining the Arabian coaſt; but he found it impoſſible to double the ſouthern extremity of that immenſe peninſula, and ſtill more to remount (as he had been commanded by Alexander) to the city Hieropolis, in Egypt. This daring enterpriſe ſeemed to be reſerved for the king in perſon. It is certain, that ſhortly before his death, he took meaſures for examining this great ſouthern gulph, as well as for diſcovering the ſhores of the Caſpian Sea, which though deſcribed as a vaſt lake by Herodotus, was by many believed to communicate with the Northern Ocean [29].

Sends veſſels to explore the Perſian and Arabian gulphs.

But objects, leſs remote, demanded his more immediate attention. In the winter ſeaſon, the waters of the Euphrates, which produce the extraordinary fertility of Aſſyria [30], are confined within their lofty channel. But in ſpring and ſummer, and eſpecially towards the ſummer ſolſtice, they overflow their banks, and, inſtead of watering, would totally deluge the adjacent territory, unleſs the ſuperfluous moiſture were diſcharged into the great canal of Pallacopas. This artificial river, formed, it is ſaid, by Nebuchadnezzar, commences an hundred miles below Babylon. It is not fed by ſprings, nor repleniſhed from mountain ſnows, but branching from the great trunk of the Eu-

Reſtrains the inundations of the Euphrates.

29 Arrian, l. vii. p. 158.

30 "This country," according to Strabo, "is more fertile than any other, producing, it is ſaid, three hundred fold." Strabo, p. 1077.

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phrates, moderates its too impetuous ſtream, by diverting it into the ſea, through lakes and marſhes, by various, and, for the moſt part, inviſible outlets. But this uſeful contrivance finally defeated its own purpoſe. The Pallacopas gradually ſunk into its ſoft and oozy bed, and the Euphrates, which even originally was much higher than this canal, continued to flow into the new channel, even after the ſeaſon when its waters ceaſe to riſe by the melting of the Armenian ſnows. This diminution of the river rendered it inſufficient to water the fields of Aſſyria; an inconvenience ſeverely felt in a country almoſt unacquainted with rain. The governors of Babylon attempted unſucceſſfully to remedy the evil, whoſe magnitude juſtly excited the attention of Alexander. From war, the mother of arts, he had learned to improve the benefits of peace. While preparations were making for more diſtant expeditions, he ſailed down the Euphrates; carefully examined the nature of the ſoil; and having diſcovered, at the diſtance of about four miles from the inoſculation of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which ſerved to moderate the inundations at one ſeaſon, without too much draining the waters at another. Having performed this eſſential ſervice to Aſſyria, he followed the courſe of the Pallacopas, and ſurveyed the lakes and marſhes, which guard the Arabian frontiers. In the neighbourhood of his new canal, he obſerved a convenient ſituation for a city, which, being built and fortified, was peopled with thoſe ſuperannuated Greeks, who ſeemed no longer capable

Builds a city near the canal of Pallacopas.

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capable of military ſervice, and with ſuch others of their countrymen as thought proper to ſettle in this fertile, though remote, country [31].

Incorporates the Barbarian levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.

Animated by a zeal for public happineſs, Alexander thus traverſed the populous provinces of the Eaſt, and ſucceſſively viſited the imperial cities of Perſepolis, Suſa, Ecbatana, and Babylon. Theſe places, and others of inferior note, were adorned with ſignal marks of his taſte, and reſpectively diſtinguiſhed by tranſactions which diſcover the boldeſt, yet moſt enlightened, views of policy. The important deſign of uniting, by laws and manners, the ſubjects of his extenſive monarchy, was ever preſent to his mind. For this purpoſe, he took care to incorporate in his Barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each diviſion of ſixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Aſiatics. In the Macedonian ſquadrons and battalions, he intermixed, on the other hand, ſuch of the Barbarians as were moſt diſtinguiſhed by their ſtrength, their activity, and their merit. Soon after the battle of Arbela, he had given orders to raiſe new levies in the conquered provinces. The Barbarian youth delighted in the Grecian exerciſe and diſcipline, and rejoiced at being aſſociated to the glory of their victors. On the banks of the Tigris, Alexander was joined by a powerful body of thoſe recruits, whoſe improvements in arts and arms fully anſwered his expectations, and juſtly rewarded his foreſight. The arrival of ſuch numerous auxiliaries enabled him to

[31] Arrian, ubi ſupra.

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diſcharge at Opis, a city on the Tigris, ſuch Greeks and Macedonians as were tired of the ſervice, worn out with age, or enfeebled by ſickneſs. After an intereſting ſcene, which we ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe, he diſmiſſed thoſe reſpectable veterans, loaded with wealth and honours. They were conducted by Craterus, whom he appointed to ſucceed Antipater in the adminiſtration of his European dominions; and Antipater, who had long executed that important truſt with equal prudence and fidelity, was commanded to join his maſter with new levies from Greece, Thrace, and Macedon [32].

Pays the debts of his ſoldiers.

At Suſa, Alexander learned that his ſoldiers, indulging the extravagance too natural to their profeſſion, had contracted immenſe debts, which they had neither ability nor inclination to pay. Upon this intelligence, he iſſued orders that each man ſhould give an exact account of what he owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring, that he was determined to ſatisfy them at his own expence. The troops ſuſpected an intention, merely to diſcover their characters, and to learn their œconomy or profuſion. At firſt, therefore, many denied, and all diminiſhed, their debts. But Alexander iſſued a ſecond declaration, "That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to ſuppoſe their prince capable of deceit." Faithful liſts were immediately preſented, and the whole debts diſcharged, to the amount, it is ſaid, of four millions ſterling.

[32] Arrian, ubi ſupra.

This

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This even was accompanied by a tranſaction of a different kind, which diſcovers, however, the ſame ſpirit, and which equally endeared Alexander to his Aſiatic ſubjects. In the royal place of Suſa, he publicly eſpouſed Barcine[33], the daughter of Darius; and beſtowed her ſiſter Drypetis on his friend Hephæſtion, ſaying, that he wiſhed their children to be kinſmen. By the advice of their maſter, Perdiccas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with the moſt illuſtrious of the vanquiſhed Barbarians. The ſoldiers were encouraged by preſents, and by the hope of royal favour, to follow the example of their leaders; and it appeared from the catalogue of their names, preſented to the king, that above ten thouſand Greeks and Macedonians married Aſiatic women[34].

Intermarriages of the Europeans and Aſiatics.

In all the cities which he viſited, he was careful to celebrate the muſical and gymnaſtic games; thoſe diſtinguiſhing fruits of Grecian culture, which being adapted to gratify the ſenſes, as well as to pleaſe the fancy, were beheld with delight even by the moſt ignorant Barbarians. Convinced that no-

Alexander prepares to exhibit dramatic entertainments at Ecbatana. Olymp. cxiv. 1.

33 Called Statira by Curtius, Juſtin, and Plutarch.

34 Plutarch, ſeizing the true ſpirit of theſe regulations, exclaims, Ω βαρβαρε Ξερξη, κ) ανοητε, κ) ματην πολλα περι την Ελλησποντιαν πονηθεις γεφυραν, ὑτως εμφρονεις βασιλες Ασιαν Ευρωπη συναπτουσι, ȣ ξυλοις, ȣδε σχεδιαις, ȣδε ἀψυχοις κ) ασυμπαθεσι δεσμοις, αλλ' ερωτι νομιμῳ, κ) γαμοις σωφροσι, κ) κοινωνιαις παιδων τα γενη συναπτοντες. "O! barbarous and fooliſh Xerxes, thou who labouredſt in vain to throw a bridge over the Helleſpont, it is thus that wiſe kings join Aſia to Europe, not by boards, ſhips, lifeleſs and inſenſible bonds, but by lawful love, chaſte nuptials, and the indiſſoluble tie of common progeny." Plut. Orat. i. de Fortun. Alexand. See likewiſe above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 420.

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thing has a more direct tendency to unite and harmonise the minds and manners of men, than public entertainments and common pleasures, Alexander determined to introduce and diffuse the amusements of the theatre. For this purpose above three thousand players and musicians, collected from all parts of Greece, assembled in Ecbatana, the capital of Media, which was chosen for the scene of those theatrical exhibitions[35]. But the sickness and death of Hephæstion changed this magnificent spectacle into melancholy obsequies. In the moment of his triumph, the king was deprived of his dearest friend[36]. This irreparable loss, he felt and expressed with an affectionate ardour congenial to his character, and justified his immodetate sorrow by the inconsolable[37] grief of Achilles for the fate of his beloved Pa-

Death of Hephæstion.

35 It should seem from Plutarch, that the entertainments of the theatre were soon diffused through other parts of Asia. Αλεξανδρȣ την Ασιαν εξημερȣντος, Ὁμηρος ην αναγνω μα, ϗ Περσων ϗ Σȣσιανων ϗ Γεδρωσιων παιδες τας Ευριπιδȣ ϗ Σοφοκλεȣς τραγωδιας ηδον. "Alexander, having tamed Asia, Homer was read in the East; the children of the Persians, Susians, and Gedrosia, recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides." Plut. ibid.

36 Next to Hephæstion, Craterus seems to have enjoyed the greatest share of Alexander's confidence; yet he often said, "Craterus loves the king, Hephæstion loves Alexander." Plutarch in Alexand. In passing through the Troade, Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, and Hephæstion that of Patroclus. Ælian, Var. Hist. xii. 7.

37 If, in the melancholy shades below,
The flames of friends and lovers cease to glow,
Yet mine shall sacred last; and, undecay'd,
Burn on through death, and animate my shade.

Pope's Iliad.

troclus.

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His obſequies and honours.

troclus. During three days and nights after the death of Hephæſtion, Alexander neither changed his apparel nor taſted food. A public mourning was obſerved throughout the empire. Funeral games were celebrated in the great cities; the royal cohort was commanded thenceforward to retain the name and banner of Hephæſtion[38]; and the lofty genius of Staſicrates erected at Ecbatana a monument worthy *of him*, whom the obſequious oracle of Ammon declared deſerving of *heroic* worſhip. To appeaſe the grief of Alexander, his lieutenants dedicated their armour at the tomb of his friend. The example was given by Eumenes, the king's ſecretary, who ſhortly before Hephæſtion's death, had offended this illuſtrious favourite; a man who long and uninterruptedly enjoyed, without abuſing in any one inſtance, the confidence of his maſter; who exerciſed power without pride, and enforced diſcipline without ſeverity; whoſe conduct merited at once public reſpect and royal favour, and whoſe virtues diſarmed envy[39].

[38] According to Plutarch, Staſicrates propoſed to form Mount Athos into a ſtatue of Alexander, graſping a city with one hand, and with the other diſcharging a river into the ſea. Plut. in Alexand. Vitruvius, l. ii. in Proem. & Lucian, t. ii. p. 489, aſcribes this deſign to Dinocrates. Alexander extolled the boldneſs of the artiſt, but added, Εα δε μενειν τον Αθω κατα χωραν· αρκει γαρ ενος βασιλεως ενυβρισαντος ειναι μνημειον. "Let alone Mount Athos; it is enough that it is the monument of one king's folly already;" alluding to the event related above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 420.

[39] Arrian, p. 156. tells us, that concerning the funeral honours of Hephæſtion, innumerable and abſurd fictions were invented by the friends and by the enemies of Alexander; nay, what is extraordinary, the ſame falſehoods were ſometimes authoriſed by both; the former intending thereby to extol the warmth of his friendſhip, the latter to expoſe his extravagance and folly.

To

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Alexander reduces and chaſtiſes the Coſſæans.

To moderate and divert his ſorrow, Alexander, who in the practice of war found at once buſineſs and amuſement, undertook an expedition in perſon, which perhaps would otherwiſe have been committed to the valour of his lieutenants. The Coſſæans, a fierce and untractable nation, inhabited the ſouthern frontier of Media. Secure amidſt their rocks and faſtneſſes, they had ever defied the arms of the Perſians; and the degenerate ſucceſſors of Cyrus had judged it more prudent to purchaſe their friendſhip than to repel their hoſtility. In their annual journey from Babylon to Ecbatana, the pride of theſe magnificent but puſillanimous princes condeſcended to beſtow preſents on the Coſſæans, that they might procure an undiſturbed paſſage for themſelves and their train; and this impolitic meanneſs only encreaſed the audacity of the mountaineers, who often ravaged the Suſian plains, and often retired to their faſtneſſes, loaded with the richeſt ſpoils of Media. Alexander was not of a temper patiently to endure the repetition of ſuch indignities. In forty days, he attacked, defeated, and totally ſubdued this rapacious and warlike tribe. The Coſſæans were driven from their laſt retreats, and compelled to ſurrender their territory. After obtaining ſufficient pledges of their fidelity, the conqueror allowed them to ranſom their priſoners, and at his departure from their country, took care to erect ſuch fortreſſes as ſeemed neceſſary for bridling, in future, the dangerous fury of this headſtrong people [40].

In

[40] Such is the account of this expedition given by Arrian, l. vii. p. 157. and confirmed by Strabo, l. xi. p. 795. and by Diodorus,

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Glory of Alexander.

In returning from this ſucceſsful expedition towards the banks of the Euphrates, Alexander was met by ambaſſadors from Carthage, Spain, and Italy, as well as from many inland countries of Aſia and Africa, extending from Mount Imaus to the ſouthern extremity of Æthiopia. It was then, ſays his hiſtorian, that he appeared maſter of the world, both to his followers and to himſelf; and, as if the known parts of it had been inſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition, he gave orders to cut timber in the Hyrcanian foreſt, with a deſign to build ſhips, and explore the undiſcovered ſhores of the Caſpian and Arabian ſeas. But neither theſe lofty deſigns, nor the glory of war, nor the pomp of royalty, which, of all princes, Alexander enjoyed in the greateſt ſplendour [41], could appeaſe his grief

His melancholy.

rus, l. xvii. p. 577. Plutarch, on the other hand, moſt unwarrantably and abſurdly tells us, that Alexander, to divert his grief, took the amuſement of *man-hunting*, and maſſacred the whole Coſſæan nation, without diſtinction of age or ſex. Plut. p. 94.

[41] Vid. Athen. l. x. p. 436. & l. xii. p. 537—541. We may believe that Alexander's tent contained an hundred couches; that the pillars which ſupported it were encruſted with gold: that he gave audience, ſurrounded with guards, and ſeated on a golden throne. In the language of antiquity, "the maſter of both continents" found it neceſſary to unite the pomp of the Eaſt with the arts of Greece. But when Athenæus tells us of the precious eſſences, the fragrant wines, the effeminacy, and vices, of Alexander, we diſcover the credulous, or rather criminal ſophiſt, who has collected into one work all the vices and impurities which diſgraced his country and human nature. To the unwarranted aſſertions of the obſcure writers cited by an Ælian (l. ix. c. iii.) and an Athenæus, we can oppoſe the authority of an Arrian and a Plutarch.—Could he who ſo ſeverely cenſured the effeminate and luxurious life of Agnon of Philotas, be himſelf effeminate and luxurious? "Of all men," ſays Arrian, "Alexander was the moſt œconomical in what regarded his private pleaſures." Arrian, l. vii. p. 167.

for

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for the loſs of Hephæſtion. The death of his beloved friend is ſaid, by Arrian, to have haſtened his own. It certainly tinged his character with a deep melancholy, which rendered him ſuſceptible of ſuch impreſſions as the firmneſs of his manly ſoul would otherwiſe have reſiſted and repelled.

Artifices to prevent his return to Babylon.

He, who had ſo often employed ſuperſtition as an inſtrument of policy, began himſelf to fall a prey to that miſerable paſſion. The ſervants of princes, ever quick in diſcerning, and dexterous in turning to their own profit, the foibles of their maſters, ſoon diſcovered and abuſed the weakneſs of Alexander. Alarmed at the ſevere treatment of ſeveral of his colleagues, Apollodorus, a citizen of Amphipolis, who had been entruſted with the government of Babylon, practiſed with his brother Pythagoras, a diviner; and the latter, ambitious to promote the greatneſs of his family, pretended to perceive in the victims evident marks of divine diſpleaſure againſt the king, ſhould he enter the gates of Babylon. Notwithſtanding this menace, Alexander, after reducing the Coſſæans, approached towards that city with his army. He was met by a long train of Chaldæan prieſts, who conjured him to change his reſolution, becauſe they had received an oracle from Belus, declaring that his journey thither would prove fatal. The intereſt of the Chaldæans conſpired with the views of Apollodorus. The temple of Belus, a ſtupendous edifice, ſituate in the heart of Babylon, had been very richly endowed by the Aſſyrian kings. But the produce of the conſecrated ground,

inſtead

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inſtead of being applied to its original deſtination of repairing the temple, and offering ſacrifices to the Gods, had, ever ſince the impious reign of Xerxes, been appropriated by the Chaldæan prieſts. Alexander, it was well known, intended to reform this abuſe; and, although his mind was not altogether unmoved by the admonition of the prieſts, he diſcerned their intereſted motives, and anſwered them by a verſe of Euripides, "He's the beſt prophet that conjectures beſt." Foiled in their firſt attempt, the Chaldæans had recourſe to another artifice. Since the king had determined at every hazard to viſit Babylon, they entreated him at leaſt not to enter it on the eaſtern ſide, but to fetch a compaſs round, and to march with his face towards the riſing ſun. He prepared to comply with this advice; but the marſhineſs of the ſoil rendered his deſign impracticable; and he was thus reluctantly compelled to enter the city by the forbidden road.

His ſhort ſtay in that city diſturbed by ſuperſtitious fears.

During his ſhort ſtay at Babylon, his mind was diſturbed by ſuperſtitious fears[42], awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the Chaldæans, and confirmed by a circumſtance well fitted to operate on a diſordered fancy. In his Indian expedition, he had converſed with the Gymnoſophiſts, or Brachmans, men who *practiſed* the philoſophy which Plato *taught*, and whoſe contempt for the pomp and pleaſures of the preſent life, was founded on the firm belief of a better and more permanent ſtate of exiſtence. To thoſe ſages,

Tenets of the Indian Brachmans.

[42] He became, ſays Plutarch, δυσελπις προς το θειον.

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the fortunate ambition of Alexander appeared an object of deriſion or pity. At ſight of the conqueror, they ſtamped their feet with vehemence on the ground; indicating, by an expreſſive action, more eloquent than words, that he, whoſe name now filled the world, muſt ſoon be confined within the narrow grave. The flatterers of the king rebuked them for inſulting the ſon of Jupiter, who had the power to reward or puniſh them. They replied, by ſaying, "That all were the ſons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they diſdained, and ſet at defiance his puniſhments, which at laſt could only relieve them from the load of frail mortality." Yet Calanus, one of their number, allured by curioſity, or irreſiſtibly captivated by the ſoothing condeſcenſion of the king, agreed to accompany him; for which inconſtancy he was much blamed by his companions. Alexander treated this eaſtern ſage with great reſpect, and when Calanus, who had paſſed his ſeventy-ſecond year without experiencing any bodily infirmity, fell ſick in Perſia, the affectionate prince earneſtly entreated him not to anticipate fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on this purpoſe, he allowed a pyre to be conſtructed, to which the Indian (being too feeble to walk or ride on horſeback) was conveyed in a litter. In ſight of the Macedonian army, who had been ordered to aſſiſt at this uncommon ſolemnity, Calanus compoſed himſelf decently on the pyre; the muſic ſtruck up; the ſoldiers raiſed a ſhout of war; and the Indian,

Prophecy and death of Calanus.

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with a ſerene countenance, expired amidſt the flames, ſinging a hymn to the Gods of his country.

The curioſity of Alexander was unbounded; but his humanity likewiſe was great. This principle, which is too often a ſtranger to the breaſt of conquerors, made him decline witneſſing the extraordinary death of a friend, who, for his ſake, had abandoned his native land. But before Calanus was carried to the funeral pile, the king affectionately paid him the laſt viſit. Calanus having embraced all preſent, refuſed to take leave of Alexander, ſaying, that "he ſhould again ſee him in Babylon." The words of a dying man were conſidered by the Greeks as prophetical. Thoſe of Calanus ſunk deep into the mind of Alexander; and the painful impreſſion which they made, haſtened his departure from a city, in which ſo many concurring circumſtances forbade him to reſide.

Death of Alexander at Babylon. Olymp. cxiv. 1. A. C. 324. May 28th.

His ſuperſtitious terrors, however, ſeem to have been diverted by the voyage down the Euphrates, and by directing the improvements in the canal of Pallacopas. Having reſumed his courage, he ventured to return to Babylon, gave audience to ſome Grecian ambaſſadors, who preſented him with golden crowns from the ſubmiſſive flattery of their ſeveral republics; and having reviewed his troops and gallies, prepared to execute the enterpriſes which he had ſo long meditated. But his deſigns and his life were now drawing to a cloſe. Whether to conquer his melancholy, or to triumph in the victory which he had already gained over it, he indulged, without moderation, in that banqueting

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and feſtivity to which, after the fatigues of war, he had often ſhewn himſelf too much addicted; and a fever, occaſioned, or at leaſt increaſed, by an exceſſive abuſe of wine, the vice of his nation and of his family, put a period to his life in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. After the firſt days of the diſorder, he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a beautiful garden; but the malady increaſing he was ſoon brought back to the palace. The laſt remains of ſtrength, he ſpent in aſſiſting at daily ſacrifices to the Gods. During his illneſs he ſpoke but little, and that only concerning his intended expeditions. The temples were crowded by his friends; the general waited in the hall; the ſoldiers ſurrounded the gates. Such was the grief of many, and the reſpectful admiration of all, that none ventured to announce to him his approaching diſſolution, none ventured to demand his laſt orders. When all hopes of recovery had vaniſhed, his favourite troops were admitted to behold him. He was ſpeechleſs, but had ſtill ſtrength to ſtretch forth his hand [43].

43 Arrian ſays, that many reports were ſpread concerning the death of Alexander, ſuch as, that he had been poiſoned by the emiſſaries of Antipater, whom, as mentioned above in the text, he had recently deprived of the government of Greece and Macedon; that when aſked to whom he bequeathed the empire, he had anſwered, to the "ſtrongeſt;" and that he had foretold his obſequies would be celebrated by bloody wars among his lieutenants. But theſe rumours receive not the leaſt countenance from the royal diary, which ſeems to have been carefully copied by Arrian, nor from the hiſtories of Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus.

Such

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His character.

Such was the reign of Alexander, whoſe character, being unexampled and inimitable, can only be explained by relating his actions. He was of a low ſtature, and ſomewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnaſtic exerciſes, he had hardened his body againſt the impreſſions of cold and heat, hunger and thirſt[44], and prepared his robuſt conſtitution for bearing ſuch exertions of ſtrength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undiſciplined ſoftneſs of modern times. In generoſity and in proweſs, he rivalled the greateſt heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outſtripped all competitors, became ambitious to ſurpaſs himſelf. His ſuperior ſkill in war gave uninterrupted ſucceſs to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philoſophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conqueſts to the beſt intereſts of mankind[45]. In his extenſive dominions, he built, or

44 Plut. Orat. i. & ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

45 Plutarch ſays, the nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themiſtocles, when, in conſequence of his baniſhment from Greece, he was raiſed to great wealth and honour in Aſia. "Ω παιδες απωλομεθα, ει μη απωλομεθα." "O my children! we ſhould have been undone, had we not been undone." In the ſame manner, thoſe nations, had they not been vanquiſhed by Alexander, had not been civilized, Egypt would not boaſt her Alexandria, Meſopotamia her Seleucia, &c. And [illegible]ain, "Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agri[illegible]ture to the Arachoſii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain, [illegible]l not to kill, their parents; the Perſians to reſpect, and not to [illegible]rry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, [illegible]eir dead." Plut. ibid.

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founded, not leſs than ſeventy cities[46], the ſituation of which being choſen with conſummate wiſdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuſe civility through the greateſt nations of the earth[47]. It may be ſuſpected, indeed, that he miſtook the extent of human power, when, in the courſe of one reign, he undertook to change the face of the world; and that he miſcalculated the ſtubbornneſs of ignorance, and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbariſm, to ſoften ſervitude, and to tranſplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Aſiatic ſoil, where they have never been known to flouriſh. Yet let not the deſigns of Alexander be too haſtily accuſed of extravagance. Whoever ſeriouſly conſiders what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accompliſhed, had he reached the ordinary term of human life. His reſources were peculiar to himſelf; and ſuch views, as well as actions, became him, as would have become none beſides. In the language of a philoſophical hiſtorian, "he ſeems to have been given to the world by a peculiar diſpenſation of Providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind[48]."

From

46 Vid. Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. tit. ii. p. 327. In the language of Plutarch, he *ſowed* Aſia with Greek cities.

47 Plut. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. xvii. 83. Stephen. Byzant. in voc. Αλεξανδρεια.

48 Ουδε εμοι εξω του θειου φυναι αν δοκει ανηρ ουδει αλλω ανθρωπων εοικως. Arrian, p. 168. How far he was an inſtrument in the hands of Divine

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From the part which his father Philip and himſelf acted in the affairs of Greece, his hiſtory has been tranſmitted through the impure channels of exaggerated flattery or malignant envy. The innumerable fictions, which diſgrace the works of his biographers, are contradicted by the moſt authentic accounts of his reign, and inconſiſtent with thoſe public tranſactions, which concurring authorities confirm. In the preſent work, it ſeemed unneceſſary to expatiate on ſuch topics, ſince it is leſs the buſineſs of hiſtory to repeat, or even to expoſe errors, than to ſelect and impreſs uſeful truths. An author, ambitious of attaining that purpoſe, can ſeldom indulge the language of general panegyric. He will acknowledge, that Alexander's actions were not always blameleſs; but, after the moſt careful examination, he will affirm, that his faults were few in number, and reſulted from his ſituation rather than from his character.

The faults or crimes of which he is accuſed

From the firſt years of his reign, he experienced the crimes of diſaffection and treachery, which multiplied, and became more dangerous, with the extent of his dominions, and the difficulty to govern them. Several of his lieutenants early aſpired at independence; others formed conſpiracies againſt the life of their maſter. The firſt criminals were treated, as we have already ſeen, with a lenity becoming the generous ſpirit of Alexander. But when Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio, and even

reſulted from his ſituation rather than from his character.

Olymp. cxii. 4. A. C. 329.

vine Providence, belongs not to the ſubject of prophane hiſtory enquire. On this ſubject, the reader may ſee Biſhop Lowth n Iſaiah, xix. 18, and xxiv. 14.

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Parmenio[49] himſelf, afforded reaſon to ſuſpect their fidelity; when the Macedonian youths, who, according to the inſtitution of Philip, guarded the royal pavilion, prepared to murder their ſovereign[50], he

49 Philotas was puniſhed in the country of the Arii; Parmenio was put to death in Media. Curtius (l. vi. c. vii. & ſqq.), who has given the fulleſt account of theſe executions, ſays, that Philotas deſerved not the compaſſion of his friends: "Amicorum miſericordiam non meruit." He leaves it uncertain whether Parmenio fell a ſacrifice to his own treaſon, or to the policy of Alexander. Arrian thinks, that the death of Parmenio was neceſſary to his maſter's ſafety.—Although the evidence of this general's guilt has not been handed down to poſterity, Alexander, it is certain, believed him guilty. He who diſdained to conquer his enemies by deceit, cannot, without proof, be ſuppoſed capable of treacherouſly aſſaſſinating his friends.

50 This conſpiracy is related by Arrian, l. iv. c. xiii. and xiv. The ſcene was Bactra, or Zariaſpa, the capital of Bactria. At a hunting-match, the king, being ready to kill a boar, was anticipated by Hermolaus. To puniſh the inſolence of the youth, Alexander ordered him to be whipped. The diſgrace ſeemed intolerable to Hermolaus and his companions; a conſpiracy was formed to deſtroy Alexander in his ſleep. It was diſcovered by Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus. The youths confeſſed their guilt, and declared that they had been confirmed in their purpoſe by Calliſthenes, the ſcholar of Ariſtotle, an arrogant and moroſe man, who, ſheltered by the cloak of philoſophy, inſolently browbeat the prince, whom he was bound to reſpect (Arrian, p. 871.). The conſpirators were ſtoned to death; a puniſhment common in that age, when perſons accuſed were tried before numerous aſſemblies, whoſe indignation frequently burſt forth, and deſtroyed atrocious offenders on the ſpot, with the firſt inſtruments of death that chance offered to their hands. Calliſthenes was dragged round the army in chains. Such is the beſt authenticated account of this affair, concerning which the variations of ancient writers are innumerable. Vid. Arrian, l. iv. c. xiv. Curtius, l. viii. c. viii. Seneca Suaſor, i. Juſtin, l. xv. c. iii. Philoſtratus, l. viii. c. i. Diodor. Sicul. pp. 356 & 358. Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtot. Suidas, ad voc. As an example of the injuſtice do[ne] th[e]

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he found it neceſſary to depart from his lenient ſyſtem, and to hold with a firmer hand the reins of government. Elated by unexampled proſperity, and the ſubmiſſive reverence of vanquiſhed nations, his loftineſs diſguſted the pride of his European troops, particularly the Macedonian nobles, who had been accuſtomed to regard themſelves rather as his companions than ſubjects. The pretenſions which found policy taught him to form and to maintain, of being treated with thoſe external honours ever claimed by the monarchs of the Eaſt, highly offended the religious prejudices of the Greeks, who deemed it impious to proſtrate the body, or bend the knee, to any mortal ſovereign. Yet had he remitted formalities conſecrated by the practice of ages, he muſt inſenſibly have loſt the reſpect of his Aſiatic ſubjects. With a view to reconcile the

the character of Alexander, I ſhall inſert the paſſage of Seneca; "Hoc eſt Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Perſarum multa millia; opponitur, et Calliſthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipſam quoque tentavit novis claſſibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ uſque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, ſed Calliſthenem occidit." Yet this Calliſthenes was a traitor, whoſe writings are mentioned with contempt by Arrian, loc. citat. Polybius, t. ii. pp. 64. 335. & t. iii. p. 45. Cicero ad Quint. Frat. l. ii. epiſt. xiii. & Longinus, c. iii. p. 14. The patriotiſm of the Greeks, and the envy of the Romans, could never forgive the tranſcendent glory of Alexander, which eclipſed their own. In ſpeaking of Philip and his ſon, even Cicero (de Offic.) ſays, "Alter ſemper magnus, alter ſæpe turpiſſimus." See likewiſe Livy, l. ix. c. xviii. The laſt-mentioned writer (l. ix. c. xvii.) goes out of his way to allege very inconcluſive arguments for believing, that had Alexander turned his arms againſt Italy, he would have certainly been conquered by the Romans.

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diſcordant principles of the victors and vanquiſhed, he affected an immediate deſcent from Jupiter Ammon, a claim liberally admitted by the avarice or fears of the Libyan prieſts, and which, he had reaſon to expect, could not be very obſtinately denied by the credulity of the Greeks and Macedonians, who univerſally acknowledged that Philip, his reputed father, was remotely deſcended from the Grecian Jupiter. But the ſucceſs of this deſign, which might have entitled him, as ſon of Jupiter, to the ſame obeiſance from the Greeks, which the Barbarians readily paid him as monarch of the Eaſt, was counteracted, at firſt by the ſecret diſpleaſure, and afterwards by the open indignation, of ſeveral of his generals and courtiers. Nor did the conduct of Alexander tend to extricate him from this difficulty. With his friends, he maintained that equal intercourſe of viſits and entertainments, which characteriſed the Macedonian manners; indulged the liberal flow of unguarded converſation; and often exceeded that intemperance in wine, which diſgraced his age and country.

Murder of Clitus. Olymp. cxiii. 1. A. C. 328.

On ſuch occaſions his gueſts, or entertainers, enjoyed and abuſed the indecent familiarity to which they had been accuſtomed with their kings; but which the temper of Alexander, corrupted by proſperity and flattery, was no longer able to endure. A ſcene of drunken debauchery, which muſt appear highly diſguſting to the propriety of modern manners, proved fatal to Clitus, who, emboldened by wine, daringly inſulted his prince, vilified his nobleſt actions, and derided his pretenſions

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to divinity. The king, being likewiſe intoxicated, was no longer maſter of himſelf, when Clitus, who had been once carried from his preſence, returned a ſecond time to the charge, and behaved more inſolently than before. In an unhappy moment, Alexander thruſt a ſpear into the breaſt of his friend[51]; but inſtantly repenting his fury, would have deſtroyed himſelf by the ſame weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants. The bitterneſs of his repentance, and the pungency of his remorſe, which neither flattery could ſoften, nor ſophiſtry appeaſe[52], rendered his life burdenſome, and his actions inconſiſtent. At times, he aſſumed the Perſian dreſs and ornaments; diſplayed the pomp of Oriental deſpotiſm; employed, and often preferred, the Barbarians; and, in ſeveral paſſages of his reign, this ſucceſsful, but unhappy, conqueror appears to have been beſet with flatterers, ſurrounded by conſpirators, adored by the

51 Monteſquieu, who (Voltaire only excepted) is the moſt diſtinguiſhed modern apologiſt of Alexander, ſays, "Il fit deux mauvaiſes actions; il brula Perſepolis & tua Clitus." (Eſprit des Loix, l. x. c. xiv.) The ſtory of the burning of Perſepolis we have already refuted. The death of Clitus, Ariſtobulus, cited by Arrian, aſcribes entirely to the inſolence and folly of Clitus himſelf, and totally exculpates Alexander. But Arrian obſerves, like a philoſopher, that Alexander was juſtly blameable in allowing himſelf to be overcome by drunkenneſs and anger. Arrian, p. 84.

52 Agis, an Argive poet, and Anaxarchus the Sophiſt, endeavoured to cure his melancholy. The latter told him, that Juſtice was deſcribed by the ancients as ſeated near the throne of Jupiter, to indicate that right and wrong depended on the will of kings, all whoſe actions ought to be held juſt by themſelves and others. This flagitious ſervility Arrian ſpurns with indignation, and brands with infamy. Arrian, p. 84.

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paſſive ſubmiſſion of his eaſtern ſubjects, and inſulted by the licentious petulance of the Greeks and Macedonians.

Difficulties of Alexander's ſituation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them.

The indignation or jealouſy of the latter tinged the faireſt of his actions with dark and odious colours. About a year before his death, a ſcene was tranſacted at Opis on the Tigris, which ſhews the difficulties of his ſituation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them. Having aſſembled the Macedonian troops, he declared to them his pleaſure, that ſuch as felt themſelves unable, through age or infirmities, to undergo the fatigues of war, ſhould be honourably diſcharged from the ſervice, and ſafely conducted to their reſpective provinces. This propoſal, which ought to have been accepted with gratitude, was heard with diſguſt. The ſoldiers reflected, that the army had recently increaſed by an acceſſion of thirty thouſand Barbarians, armed and accoutred after the European faſhion, trained to the Grecian diſcipline and exerciſes, and inſtructed in the arts and language of the victors. The king, they thought, no longer cared for the ſervice of his veterans, and therefore diſmiſſed them with contempt. The ſpirit of ſedition ſeized the camp; the Macedonians unanimouſly demanded their diſcharge; ſome adding with ſcoffs, "That he had no farther uſe for *them*; his father Ammon could fight his battles." At theſe words, the king ſprung from the tribunal on which he ſat, and commanded the moſt audacious to be ſeized by his targeteers, and conducted to immediate execution. This prompt ſeverity

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verity appeaſed the riſing tumult. The ſoldiers remained motionleſs and ſilent, doubtful or terrified. Alexander again mounted the tribunal, and ſpoke as follows: "It is not my deſign, Macedonians, to change your reſolution. Return home, without hindrance from me. But, before leaving the camp, firſt learn to know your king and yourſelves. My father Philip (for with him it is ever fit to begin) found you, at his arrival in Macedon, miſerable and hopeleſs fugitives; covered with ſkins of ſheep; feeding among the mountains ſome wretched herds, which you had neither ſtrength nor courage to defend againſt the Thracians, Illyrians, and Treballi. Having repelled the ravagers of your country, he brought you from the mountains to the plain, and taught you to confide, not in your faſtneſſes, but in your valour. By his wiſdom and diſcipline, he trained you to arts and civility, enriched you with mines of gold, inſtructed you in navigation and commerce, and rendered you a terror to thoſe nations, at whoſe names you uſed to tremble. Need I mention his conqueſts in Upper Thrace, or thoſe ſtill more valuable in the maritime provinces of that country? Having opened the gates of Greece, he chaſtiſed the Phocians, reduced the Theſſalians, and, while I ſhared the command, defeated and humbled the Athenians and Thebans, eternal foes to Macedon, to whom you had been ſucceſſively tributaries, ſubjects, and ſlaves. But my father rendered you their maſters; and having entered the Peloponneſus, and regulated at diſcretion the affairs of that peninſula,

His own account of the reign of Philip and himſelf.

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peninſula, he was appointed, by univerſal conſent, general of combined Greece; an appointment not more honourable to himſelf, than glorious for his country. At my acceſſion to the throne, I found a debt of five hundred talents, and ſcarce ſixty in the treaſury. I contracted a freſh debt of eight hundred; and conducting you from Macedon, whoſe boundaries ſeemed unworthy to confine you, ſafely croſſed the Helleſpont, though the Perſians ſtill commanded the ſea. By one victory we gained Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. By our courage and activity, the provinces of Cilicia and Syria, the ſtrength of Paleſtine, the antiquity of Egypt, and the renown of Perſia, were added to your empire. Yours now are Bactria and Aria, the productions of India, the fertility of Aſſyria, the wealth of Suſa, and the wonders of Babylon. You are generals, princes, ſatraps. What have I reſerved for myſelf, but this purple and diadem, which mark my pre-eminence in toil and danger! Where are my private treaſures [53]? Or why ſhould I collect them? Are *my* pleaſures expenſive? You know that I fare worſe than many of yourſelves; and have in nothing ſpared my perſon. Let him, who dares, compare with me. Let him bare his breaſt, and I will bare mine. My body, the fore part of my body, is covered with honourable wounds from every ſort of weapon. I often watch,

[53] It appears from Arrian, that Alexander ſpeaks of theſe, as diſtinct from the military fund, and other revenues, employed in paying and rewarding his troops, and in executing ſuch public deſigns as ſeemed conducive to the proſperity of the empire.

that

that you may enjoy repoſe; and, to teſtify my unremitting attention to your happineſs, had determined to ſend home the aged and infirm among you, loaded with wealth and honour. But ſince you are all deſirous to leave me, Go! Report to your countrymen, that, unmindful of the ſignal bounty of your king, you entruſted him to the vanquiſhed Barbarians. The report, doubtleſs, will beſpeak your gratitude and piety[54]."

Affecting ſcene at Opis on the Tigris. Olymp. cxiii. 4. A. C. 325.

Having thus ſpoken, he ſprang from the tribunal, and haſtened to the palace, accompanied only by his guards. During two days, none were admitted to his preſence. On the third, he called the Perſian nobles of diſtinction, and diſtributed among them the principal departments of military command. He then iſſued orders, that certain bodies of the Barbarian infantry and cavalry ſhould be called the royal battalion, and royal cohort, and by ſuch other names as commanded greateſt reſpect. Appriſed of theſe innovations, the Macedonians, who had long remained in confuſion before the tribunal, afraid to follow Alexander, and afraid to allow his retiring unattended, flocked around the palace, and depoſited their arms at the gate, humbly requeſting to ſee their king, and declaring that they would never ſtir from the place, till their tears had moved his compaſſion. Alexander came forth, beheld their abaſement, and wept. The affecting ſilence, marked by alternate emotions of repentance and reconciliation, was at length broke by Callines, a man highly eſteemed

54 Arrian, p. 152, & ſeqq.

in

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in the cavalry: "Thy Macedonians, O king! are grieved that the Perſians alone ſhould be called thy kindred, and entitled as ſuch to embrace thee, while none of themſelves are allowed to taſte that honour[55]." Alexander replied, "From this moment you are all my kindred." Callines then ſtepped forward and embraced him; and ſeveral others having followed the example, they all took up their arms, and returned to the camp with ſhouts of joy, and ſongs.

A feſtival celebrated in common by the Macedonians and Perſians.

Of all men (if we believe the concurring teſtimony of his hiſtorians) Alexander was the moſt mindful of his duty to the gods. To thank heaven for the happy iſſue of this tranſaction, he celebrated a ſolemn ſacrifice, and, after the ſacrifice, an entertainment for the principal of his European and Aſiatic ſubjects. The Macedonians were next to his perſon; the Perſians next the Macedonians; the Grecian prieſts and Perſian magi joined in common libations, invoking perpetual concord, and eternal union of empire, to the Macedonians and Perſians. Soon afterwards, the invalids, whoſe diſmiſſion had produced the mutiny, gladly returned home. Alexander diſcharged their arrears, allowed them full pay until their arrival in Macedon, and granted each ſoldier a gratuity of two hundred pounds ſterling. He again ſhed tears at parting with upwards of ten thouſand men, who had ſerved him in ſo many glorious campaigns; and, as a teſtimony of his affectionate concern for their ſafety,

[55] Arrian ſays, "While none of themſelves ever taſted that honour." Μακεδονων ὑπω τις γεγευται ταυτης της τιμης. Arrian, p. 154.

appointed

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appointed Craterus, whom he loved as his own life [56], to be their conductor.

Diviſion of Alexander's conqueſts.

Such was the life of this extraordinary man, whoſe genius might have changed and improved the ſtate of the ancient world. But the ſpirit of improvement is tranſient, and demands perpetual efforts; the ſources of degeneracy are permanent and innumerable. It ſeems at firſt ſight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the ſucceſſion to his throne, he left the field open for thoſe bloody wars among his captains, which long deſolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himſelf obliged to ſtruggle, might teach him the impoſſibility of ſecuring the empire for the infancy of his ſon Hercules, or the weakneſs of his brother Aridæus. The principles of royal ſucceſſion were never accurately aſcertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good ſchool of moderation or juſtice. The firſt meaſure adopted by his generals was, to ſet aſide the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Aridæus, together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if ſhe brought forth a ſon, to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimſical deſtination announced little union or ſtability. Perdiccas, in virtue of poſſeſſing the ring or ſeal of his deceaſed maſter, aſſumed the regency: the troops and provinces were divided among Antigonus, Ptolemy, Craterus, and other chiefs, who, having been formerly the equals, diſdained to remain the inferiors, of

[56] Arrian, p. 155.

Perdiccas,

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Perdiccas. Each general truſted in his ſword for an independent eſtabliſhment; new troops were raiſed and diſciplined; leagues formed and broken; the children and relations of Alexander, who became ſucceſſively priſoners in different hands, all periſhed miſerably; nor was there any ceſſation of crimes and calamities [57], or any permanent ſettlement of the provinces, until the battle of Ipſus in Phrygia confirmed Ptolemy in the poſſeſſion of Egypt, and Seleucus in that of Upper Aſia [58]. The iſſue of the ſame battle gave Macedon and Greece to Caſſander, and Thrace, with ſeveral provinces of Lower Aſia, to Lyſimachus.

A. C. 301.

Subſequent hiſtory of Egypt and Syria.

The great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which continued thenceforward, till ſubdued by the Romans, to be governed by the reſpective families of Seleucus and Ptolemy, never generally [59] adopted

57 Diodor. Sicul. l. xix & xx. paſſim.

58 Arrian, pp. 160 & 164.

59 Yet among the higher ranks of men, the Greek language continually gained ground. Before the Chriſtian æra, it was ſpoken by Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was the language of the learned and polite in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Italy and Carthage. It muſt have been underſtood by all ranks of men in Judæa, ſince the inſpired writers employed it in propagating the goſpel, which was to be firſt preached to the Jews. For this univerſality, the Greek ſeems to have been indebted, 1. To the innumerable Greek colonies in Europe, Aſia, and Africa. 2. To the conqueſts of Alexander, whoſe armies and garriſons were continually reinforced from Greece. 3. To the ſocial and agreeable character of the Greeks. 4. To the excellence of the language itſelf (ſee above, chapters v. and vi.), whoſe duration is as wonderful as its extent. The Greek was ſpoken in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks; ſo that, from the time of Homer, it ſubſiſted with little variation, as a living tongue, for two thouſand and four hundred years.

the

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the language or manners of their Grecian ſovereigns. In Egypt, the firſt ſucceſſors of Alexander carried into execution the commercial improvements planned by that prince; and the kings both of Egypt and of Syria affected, in their magnificent courts, to join the arts and elegance of Greece to the pomp and luxury of the Eaſt. But their oſtentation was more remarkable than their taſte; their liberal characters were effaced by the continual contact of ſervitude; they ſunk into the ſoftneſs and inſignificance of hereditary deſpots, whoſe reigns are neither buſy nor inſtructive; nor could the intrigues of women and eunuchs, or miniſters equally effeminate, form a ſubject ſufficiently intereſting to ſucceed the memorable tranſactions of the Grecian republics.

The weſtern diviſion of Alexander's empire conquered by the Romans.

In the hiſtory of thoſe kingdoms, the moſt important event is their conqueſt by the Romans, who gradually ſeized all the weſtern ſpoils of the empire of Alexander, comprehended between the Euphrates and the Hadriatic ſea, and ſucceſſively reduced them into the form of provinces. Greece, which came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Achaia, imparted its literature, its arts[60], and its

60 Notwithſtanding the degeneracy of the Greeks under the Macedonian and Roman governments, their country, and particularly Athens, was long regarded as the principal ſeat of arts and philoſophy. But the Greek artiſts, as well as poets, orators, hiſtorians, and philoſophers, of later times, were mere imitators, who fell infinitely ſhort of the merit and fame of the great originals. The works of Phidias and Apelles, of Sophocles, Demoſthenes, Plato, &c. not thoſe of the Greeks their own contemporaries, were the objects of admiration to Cicero and Seneca, to the writers of the Auguſtan age, to Pliny, Tacitus, &c. But of this, more in the next chapter.

vices,

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vices, to Italy. The conqueſt of Macedon freed Rome from the weight of taxes. The acquiſition of Syria doubled the revenues of that republic. The ſubjugation of Egypt doubled the price of commodities in Italy. Yet whatever might be the wealth [61] of thoſe nations, they are entitled to little regard from poſterity, ſince, from the death of Alexander, they were not diſtinguiſhed by any invention that either improved the practice of war, or increaſed the enjoyments of peace.

State of Greece after the age of Alexander.

The feeble mixture of Grecian colonization diffuſed through the Eaſt, was ſufficient, indeed, to tinge, but too inconſiderable to alter and aſſimilate, the vaſt maſs of barbariſm. But as the principle of degeneracy is often ſtronger than that of improvement, the ſloth and ſervility of Aſia gradually crept into Greece. That unfortunate country, drained of its moſt enterpriſing inhabitants, who either followed the ſtandard, or oppoſed the arms, of Alexander, was equally inſulted by the ſeverity and the indulgence of his ſucceſſors, ſince, in either caſe, the Greeks felt and acknowledged their dependence. Reluctantly compelled to ſubmit to a maſter, they loſt that elevation of character, and that enthuſiaſm of valour, which had been produced by freedom, nouriſhed by victory, and confirmed by the juſt ſenſe of national pre-eminence. Their domeſtic diſſenſions, by carrying them in great numbers into the ſervice of foreign princes, thereby diffuſed the knowledge of their

[61] Of which ſee an account extracted from the public regiſters, in Appian. Alexand. in Proem.

tactics

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tactics and discipline through countries far more extensive and populous than their own; and amidst all their personal animosities, the captains of Alexander, uniformly embracing the maxims of despotism which their master magnanimously disdained, firmly and unitedly resisted and crushed the rising rebellions of the Greeks, whose feeble and ill-conducted efforts for regaining their liberty, only plunged them deeper into servitude. Destitute of immediate and important objects to rouse their activity, the example of their ancestors at length ceased to animate and inspire them. The rewards of merit being withdrawn, men no longer aspired at excellence. The spirit of patriotism evaporated; the fire of genius was extinguished; exertion perished with hope; and, exclusively of the Achæan League[62], the unfortunate issue of which has been already explained in this work[63], Greece, from the age of Alexander, offers not any series of transactions highly memorable in the history of arts or arms.

[62] The judicious Polybius treats the Achæan league, and other collateral transactions of the Greeks and Macedonians, as episodes in his invaluable history of the progress and aggrandisement of the Roman republic.

[63] See vol. ii. p. 15.

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State of Literature in the Age of Alexander—Poetry—Muſic—Arts of Deſign—Geography—Aſtronomy—Natural Hiſtory—Works of Ariſtotle—Philoſophical Sects eſtabliſhed at Athens—Decline of Genius—Tenets of the different Sects—Peripatetic Philoſophy—Eſtimate of that Philoſophy—Its Fate in the World—Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Epicurus—The Stoic Philoſophy—Eſtimate of that Philoſophy—The Epicurean Philoſophy—Character of Epicurus—Philoſophy of Pyrrho—Concluſion.

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State of literature in the age of Alexander.

IN the latter years of Alexander, literature, philoſophy, and the fine arts, diſplayed their brighteſt charms; yet the ſource of that health and vigour, from which their beauty flowed, had already begun to fail. The military expeditions of that illuſtrious conqueror were deſcribed, and publiſhed after his death, in the authentic and intereſting narratives of Ptolemy and Ariſtobulus [1], who had been the witneſſes and companions of his victories. But his extraordinary exploits, and unexampled ſucceſs, which far eclipſed the imaginary renown of the fabled heroes of antiquity, produced, even in his life-time, a crowd of writers, whoſe credulity, and love of the marvellous, could only be exceeded by their mean adulation, and

[1] Arrian, in Procem.

ſervile

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ſervile ſuperſtition[2]. Exaggeration in matters of fact produced that ſwelling amplification of ſtyle, thoſe meretricious ornaments, and affected graces, which characteriſed the puerile and frigid compoſitions of Calliſthenes, Oneſicritus, and Hegeſias[3]. The falſe taſte of theſe pretended hiſtorians, to whoſe perverſe induſtry muſt be aſcribed the ridiculous trappings which have too long disfigured the auguſt form of Alexander, was admired and imitated by many of their contemporaries. The contagion infected even the orators; and it is worthy of obſervation, that the verboſe emptineſs and bombaſt of the Aſiatic eloquence, was firſt introduced into Greece, in the age which had applauded the chaſte and nervous compoſitions of Lycurgus, Hyperides, Æſchines, and Demoſthenes[4]. So true it is, that in every country where the human genius has attained its higheſt point of perfection, a principle of degeneracy naturally carries things in a contrary direction; becauſe thoſe who are incapable of excellence, ſtill covet diſtinction, and deſpairing to ſurpaſs their predeceſſors in the beauties of truth and nature, vainly ſolicit praiſe by falſe conceits and artificial refinements.

Under the Macedonian government, Greece produced not any original genius in the ſerious

2 Lucian de Scribend. Hiſtor.

3 Strabo, l. xix. p. 446.

4 Dionyſ. Halicarn. de Structura Oration. Longinus de Sublim. Cicero de Orator. & de Clar. Orator. paſſim.

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kinds of poetry. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the theatre. But no lyric, no epic poet appeared, qualified to adorn the exploits of Alexander, though that prince, intoxicated with the love of fame, munificently rewarded the ignoble flattery of Agis, Cleon, Chærilus, and other contemptible encomiaſts; who corrupted his heart, without vitiating his judgment, ſince he declared, that he would rather be the Therſites of Homer, than the Achilles of Chærilus[5]. Yet in the ſame age Philemon, Antiphanes[6], Lycon[7], above all, the Athenian Menander, carried comedy to the higheſt perfection which it ever attained in any nation of antiquity. During the republican form of government, the inſtitutions and character of the Greeks were unfavourable to the beſt improvement of this ſpecies of writing. The licentious turbulence of democracy generally converted their attempts at wit and humour into petulance and buffoonery. The change of government and manners, requiring due reſpect to the rules of propriety and the dictates of caution, improved their diſcernment, and gradually made them ſenſible to that refined ridicule, where more is meant than ſaid, and to thoſe more intereſting, becauſe juſter, delineations of character, which diſtinguiſhed the comic ſtrains of Philemon and Menander[8].

Improvement of comedy.

[5] Acro. ad Horat. Art. Poet. v. 357. Curtius, l. viii. c. v.
[6] Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 555.
[7] Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.
[8] Vid. Plut. Comp. Ariſtoph. & Menand.

Alex-

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Alexander, during his early youth, took delight in dramatic entertainments. Theſſalus was his favourite actor, but Athenadorus was more approved by the public. To Athenadorus, the magiſtrates, who, according to the Grecian cuſtom, were appointed to decide the pretenſions of rival candidates for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize of merit. The young hero declared, that this deciſion gave him more pain than he would have felt at the loſs of his inheritance[9]. The muſicians Timotheus[10] and Antigenides[11] ſtill diſplayed the wonderful effects of their art; but as the ſeverity of education and manners continually relaxed in all parts of Greece, we find that muſic, originally deſtined to purify and exalt the mind, was in later times univerſally employed to ſeduce and inflame the paſſions[12]. Muſic.

The arts of deſign, painting, ſculpture, and architecture, appeared in their higheſt luſtre in the age of Philip and Alexander, both which princes had no leſs taſte to judge[13], than munificence to reward them. The eaſtern expedition of Alexander introduced, or at leaſt greatly multiplied, in Greece, thoſe precious and durable gems, which thenceforth exhibited ſome of the fineſt ſpecimens of Grecian ingenuity. The ſkill and taſte of Pyrgo- Arts of deſign.

9 Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.
10 Hephæſt. de Metr.
11 Plut. Orat. de Fortun. Alexand.
12 Ariſtot. Politic. l. viii. c. vi.
13 Judicium ſubtile videndis artibus. Hor. Ep. l. ii. Ep. i. v. 242.

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teles were diſtinguiſhed in this valuable, though minute art[14]. He enjoyed the excluſive honour of repreſenting the figure of Alexander on gems, as did Lyſippus of caſting it in bronze, and Apelles of painting it in colours[15]. Lyſippus was juſtly admired for bringing back the art to a cloſer ſtudy, and nearer imitation, of nature, without yielding to his predeceſſors in ideal beauty[16]. We have already mentioned his twenty-one equeſtrian ſtatues of the Macedonian guards, ſlain in the battle of the Granicus. He is ſaid to have made ſix hundred and ten figures in bronze[17]; a number which, if not greatly exaggerated, would prove his facility of working to have far ſurpaſſed that of all ſtatuaries, ancient or modern. The numerous liſt of painters, contemporary with Apelles, indicates an extraordinary demand for their art; ſince no profeſſion, that is not gainful, will ever be very generally followed[18]. The moſt celebrated of theſe artiſts were Amphion and Aſclepiodorus[19], whom Apelles acknowledged as his ſuperiors in ſome parts of compoſition; Ariſtides the Theban, who was inimitable in expreſſion[20]; and Protogenes of Rhodes, whom Ariſtotle exhorted to

Lyſippus.

Apelles and other contemporary artiſts.

14 Plin. l. vii. c. xxxvii. & Plutarch. in Alexand.

15 Vid. Plin. edit. Berolin. i. 221. iii. 217—228.

16 Plin. iii. 194, & ſeqq.

17 The Sieur Falconet, who made the famous ſtatue of Peter the Great, thinks the thing impoſſible, and gives a different meaning to the words of Pliny. See his obſervations on the paſſage, in his tranſlation of the books of Pliny relative to the arts. Vol. ii. Lauſanne.

18 Plin. iii. 222.

19 Idem, iii. 226.

20 Idem, iii. 215—225.

paint

paint the immortal exploits of Alexander[21]. The inferior branches of the art, if not firſt cultivated in that age, were then carried to perfection. Pyreicus[22] confined himſelf to ſubjects of low life, and Antiphilus[23] to caricatures, which the Greeks called Grylli. The theory and practice of painting were explained in many works, the loſs of which is much to be regretted[24].

Works of Apelles.

Amidſt the great multitude of artiſts, and writers on art, all acknowledged the pre-eminence of Apelles, whoſe works were innumerable, and each ſufficient to eſtabliſh his renown[25]. His picture of Alexander, graſping a thunderbolt, was ſold to the temple of Epheſian Diana for four thouſand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident; none would venture to reſtore the parts that had been effaced: ſo that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artiſt. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaſpé, the favourite miſtreſs of Alexander. The ſenſibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms which he ſo ſucceſsfully expreſſed. Alexander was no ſooner acquainted with his paſſion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a preſent, not only of Campaſpé, but of his own affection, too little reſpecting the feelings of the beloved object, as her degradation

21 He exhorted him to paint them "propter eternitatem rerum." Plin. ibid.

22 Plin. iii. 226.

23 Idem, iii. 229.

24 Idem, ibid.

25 Plin. iii. 222, & ſeqq.

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from being the miſtreſs of a king, to become the poſſeſſion of a painter. Yet this celebrated artiſt, who enjoyed other ſtriking proofs of his maſter's partiality and friendſhip, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankneſs of his age and nation, he aſſumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely aſſerted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulneſs[26] of his attitudes and figures. But in ſome other branches of the art, he acknowleged his inferiority to ſeveral of his contemporaries. The deſire of ſeeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealouſy. But inſtead of yielding to the dictates of this miſerable paſſion, he drew Protogenes from obſcurity; raiſed the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the ſame talents in their fellow-citizen, which they admired in a ſtranger, to acknowledge and reſpect his merit[27].

Decline of the arts after the death of Alexander.

Soon after the death of Alexander, painting and the kindred arts ceaſed[28]. By this expreſſion, Pliny means not, that they ceaſed to be cultivated, but to make farther progreſs; ſince neither the ſcholars of Apelles and Lyſippus, nor thoſe who came after them, were able to reach the glory of their predeceſſors. The Greek kings of Egypt and Syria ſeem to have bent their attention rather

26 "Deeſſe iis unam Venerem dicebat quam Græci charita vocant; cetera omnia contigiſſe; ſed hâc ſolâ ſibi neminem parem." Plin. iii. 222, & ſeqq.

27 Plin. ibid.

28 "Ceſſavit deinde ars." Plin. ibid.

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to literature, than to the arts. But, in both, the ſchools of Alexandria and Seleucia never aſpired beyond the humble merit of imperfectly imitating thoſe of Greece. In proportion to its neighbourhood to that country, the arts took firmer root in Alexandria than in Seleucia; and, from the ſame circumſtance, they ſeem to have flouriſhed longer and more abundantly in the little principalities of Pergamus and Bithynia, than in the wealthy kingdoms of Syria and Egypt[29].

Geography.

The expedition of Alexander contributed to the improvement of the ſciences, both natural and moral. His marches were carefully meaſured by Diognetes and Beton. Other geometers[30] were employed to ſurvey the more remote parts of the countries which he traverſed; and the exact deſcription of his conqueſts, which, from theſe and other materials, he took care to have compiled by men of approved integrity and abilities, gave a new form to the ſcience of geography[31].

Aſtronomy.

After the conqueſt of Babylon, Alexander eagerly demanded the aſtronomical obſervations, which had been carefully preſerved in that ancient capital above nineteen centuries. They remounted twenty-two hundred and thirty-four years beyond the Chriſtian æra. By order of Alexander, they were faithfully tranſcribed, and tranſmitted to

[29] Winkelmann, Geſchichte der Kunſt des Alterthums, p. 711, & ſeqq.

[30] Strabo, l. ii. p. 47.

[31] Caſſini ſur l'Origine de l'Aſtronomie, &c. Academ. des Sciences, t. viii. p. 13.

Ariſtotle,

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Ariſtotle[32], who was probably prevented by his infirm ſtate of health from accompanying his pupil to the Eaſt; or who, perhaps, voluntarily preferred a philoſophical retirement in Athens, to the glory of attending the conqueror of the world.

Natural hiſtory.

Nor was this the only preſent to his preceptor, by which Alexander diſplayed at once his gratitude and love of ſcience. Natural hiſtory was peculiarly indebted to his curioſity and munificence. At the expence of near two hundred thouſand pounds, an expence equivalent to a far larger ſum in the preſent age, he collected many rare productions of nature in different countries of Aſia, and particularly that amazing variety of animals[33], which Ariſtotle has deſcribed with ſuch inimitable preciſion[34] in his work on that ſubject.

Moral knowledge.

But whatever obligations natural knowledge owed to Alexander, it would ſeem that the moral ſciences were not leſs benefited by his diſcoveries and conqueſts[35]. The ſtudy of human nature muſt have been greatly enlarged by ſuch a wide ſurvey of men and manners; nor was this advantage,

32 Porphyr. apud Simplicium, in Ariſtot. de Cœlo, l. ii.

33 Plin. l. viii. c. xvi.

34 See the admirable criticiſm on Ariſtotle's Hiſtory of Animals, by Buffon, vol. i.

35 The arts and ſciences not only flouriſhed in Alexander's time; they flouriſhed, ſays Plutarch, δια Αλεξανδρον. "He was the efficient cauſe of this effect." The paſſage which follows, Καιτων μεν γαρ ευφοριων, &c. ſhould be ſtudied by all princes who aſpire to glory; a glory greater than power can give; more extenſive and more permanent than conqueſt can confer.

perhaps,

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perhaps, confined to thoſe who performed the expedition, whoſe works have unfortunately periſhed; ſince the moral and political treatiſes of Ariſtotle diſcover not only more method in his reaſonings, but a more copious fund of facts on which to reaſon, than the writings of all his predeceſſors together, not excepting thoſe of the travellers Xenophon and Plato.

The greateſt part of the works of Ariſtotle were doubtleſs compoſed before the Macedonian conqueſt; yet it is not improbable that this extraordinary man, whoſe induſtry was equal to his genius, continually retouched and improved them; and it cannot be imagined that the rich harveſt of facts and obſervations collected by his learned friends who accompanied Alexander, would be overlooked by a philoſopher, who ſeems not only ambitious to eclipſe his predeceſſors and contemporaries, but ſolicitous to leave no gleanings of fame to be acquired by his ſcholars and ſucceſſors.

Works of Ariſtotle.

"Ariſtotle," ſays Lord Bacon[36], "thought, like the Ottoman princes, that he could not reign ſecure, unleſs he deſtroyed all his brethren;" nor was his literary ambition more excluſive than exorbitant. He aſpired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and ſciences, and profeſſed to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral, as well as the material, world. Not ſatisfied with extending his empire to the utmoſt verge of intellect, he boldly attempts queſtions beyond all human knowledge, with the ſame confidence that his

[36] De Augm. Scientiarum, l. iii. c. iv.

pupil

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pupil entered on a battle. But having to contend with enemies more ſtubborn than the Perſians, his raſhneſs was leſs ſucceſsful than that of Alexander.

His philoſophy.

He divided philoſophy into contemplative and practical. The contemplative or abſtract philoſophy, to which he firſt gave the name of metaphyſics[37], is obſcure throughout, often unintelligible, ſtill more chimerical, but far leſs agreeable, than that of his maſter Plato. It comprehended not only the examination of thoſe abſtract ideas, *exiſtence*, *ſubſtance*, *quality*, *genus*, *ſpecies*, &c. which were ſo long and ſo uſeleſsly tortured by the perverſe induſtry of the ſchoolmen, but the general doctrines concerning mind or ſpirit, particularly the mind of the Deity. The human ſoul is treated in a ſeparate work; in which it muſt be acknowledged, that Ariſtotle has made new names, rather

37 By ſome writers it is ſuppoſed, that this title was beſtowed on the fourteen books of Ariſtotle, immediately following his Phyſics, by Andronicus of Rhodes, a Peripatetic philoſopher in the age of Auguſtus, who publiſhed the firſt complete edition of Ariſtotle's works. From that time, the various ſubjects treated in theſe fourteen books were conſidered as conſtituting one branch of ſcience. Ariſtotle had divided philoſophy into ſpeculative and practical. The firſt comprehended metaphyſics, which examined the general properties of being, and the eſſence of things ſeparate from matter; phyſics, which examined the nature of material ſubſtances, and the human ſoul; and mathematics, which examined certain properties of body, abſtracted from body. The practical philoſophy of Ariſtotle, which was intended to regulate the intellectual and moral operations of men, comprehended logic, under which he ſeems to have included rhetoric and criticiſm; and morals, including œconomics and politics. See Strabo, p. 609; and Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion.

than

than new diſcoveries; and the doctrine of the immortality is no where ſo fully elucidated by this philoſopher, as it had been by Plato.

Phyſics.

The natural philoſophy of Ariſtotle deſerves the name of metaphyſic, in the modern ſenſe of that word, ſince he explained the laws of the univerſe, by comparing abſtract ideas, not by obſervation and experience. When he deſcends to particulars, he betrays more ignorance concerning the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, than many of his predeceſſors. With the anatomy of man and other animals, he was well acquainted, conſidering the groſs errors which generally prevailed in the age in which he lived. Chemiſtry was not yet invented. Since the introduction of the ideal philoſophy, men had ceaſed to *obſerve* nature; it could not therefore be expected that they ſhould *imitate* her operations, and examine her by the teſt of experiment. In mathematics, Ariſtotle appears to have been leſs verſed than his predeceſſors, Pythagoras and Plato; although, in the invention of the art of ſyllogiſm, he diſplays a perſeverance of mental energy, which, had it been directed to the mathematical ſciences, might have produced the greateſt diſcoveries.

Logic.

The ſcepticiſm of his contemporary Pyrrho, and ſtill more the captious ſophiſtry of the Eriſtics, might naturally engage Ariſtotle to examine with more attention than his predeceſſors, the nature of truth, and the means of defending it againſt the attacks of declamation and the ſnares of ſubtlety.

He

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He undertook, therefore, the arduous taſk, of reſolving all reaſoning into its primary elements, and of deducing from thence the rules by which every concluſion muſt be connected with its premiſes, in order to render it legitimate. This bold deſign he accompliſhed; having erected, on a ſingle axiom, a larger ſyſtem of abſtract truths, all fortified by demonſtration, than were ever invented and perfected by any other man. The axiom from which he ſets out, and in which the whole terminates, is, that whatever is predicated of a genus, may be predicated of every ſpecies and individual contained under it. But the application of this axiom is for the moſt part ſufficiently obvious, without the rules of Ariſtotle; whoſe logic, how ſucceſsful ſoever it might prove againſt the ſubtleties of the Sophiſts and *Eriſtics*, contributes little to the formation of the underſtanding, and nothing to the judicious obſervation of man or nature, on which all uſeful diſcoveries muſt be founded.

His critical and moral writings.

From the general wreck of literature, in which many of Ariſtotle's writings periſhed[38], had nothing been ſaved but the works above mentioned, it muſt be confeſſed that the preceptor of Alexander would not greatly merit the attention of hiſtory. In his abſtract or metaphyſical philoſophy, we can only lament vaſt efforts miſ-ſpent, and great genius miſapplied. But, in his critical and moral, and above all, in his political works, we find the ſame penetrating and comprehenſive mind,

[38] See the fate of his works carefully related in Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion.

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the ſame ſubtlety of reaſoning, and vigour of intellect, directed to objects of great importance and extenſive utility. The condition of the times in which he lived, and the opportunities peculiar to himſelf, conſpired with the gifts of nature, and the habits of induſtry, to raiſe him to that eminence, which was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and admired by poſterity.

His great opportunities of improvement. A. C. 368.

He was born in the firſt year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, at Stagira, a provincial city of Macedon, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's phyſician. In his early youth, he was ſent to Athens, and remained there twenty years an aſſiduous ſcholar of Plato, in a city where literature and the fine arts were cultivated with unexampled ſucceſs, and where the philoſophic ſpirit, though often improperly directed, flouriſhed in the utmoſt vigour. Selected by the diſcernment of Philip, to guide and confirm the promiſing diſpoſitions of his admired ſon, he returned to his native country, and continued eight years at the Macedonian court. Whatever benefit accrued to Alexander from the inſtructions of Ariſtotle, it is certain that the latter derived great advantages from the gratitude of his royal pupil. Of this, ſeveral proofs have already occurred; and perhaps it may be aſcribed to the munificence of Alexander, that his preceptor was enabled to form a library [39], a work of prodigious expence in that and the ſucceeding age, and in which he could only be rivalled

[39] Strabo.

by

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by the Egyptian and Pergamenian kings. But the library of Ariſtotle was collected for uſe, not merely for oſtentation[40].

His long reſidence at Athens;

The laſt fourteen years of his life he ſpent moſtly at Athens, ſurrounded with every aſſiſtance which men[41] and books could afford him, for proſecuting his philoſophical inquiries. The glory of Alexander's name, which then filled the world, enſured tranquillity and reſpect to the man whom he diſtinguiſhed as his friend; but after the premature death of that illuſtrious protector, the invidious jealouſy of prieſts and ſophiſts inflamed the malignant and ſuperſtitious fury of the Athenian populace; and the ſame odious paſſions which proved fatal to the offenſive[42] virtue of Socrates, fiercely aſſailed the fame and merit of Ariſtotle. To avoid the cruelty of perſecution, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf to Chalcis, in Eubœa. This meaſure was ſufficiently juſtified by a prudent regard to his perſonal ſafety; but leſt his conduct ſhould appear unmanly, when contraſted with the firmneſs of Socrates in a ſimilar ſituation, he condeſcended to apologiſe for his flight, by ſaying, that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a ſecond op-

and death Olymp. cxiv. 3. A. C. 322. Ætat. 63.

[40] The Egyptian and Pergamenian kings were lovers rather of books than of learning. They conſidered a great library as contributing to the ſuperfluous magnificence of royalty. Vid. Galen. Comment. 2. in Hippocrat. de Natur. Hom.

[41] Ariſtotle probably had many aſſiſtants in his philoſophical inquiries and compoſitions. Ὁ δὲ σοφὸς, καὶ καθ' αὑτὸν ὢν, δύναται θεωρεῖν· βέλτιον δ' ἴσως συνεργὸς ἔχων. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

[42] Virtutem incolumem odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi. HORACE.

portunity

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portunity "to ſin againſt philoſophy[43]." He ſeems to have ſurvived his retreat from Athens only a few months; vexation and regret probably ſhortened his days[44].

Philoſophical ſects eſtabliſhed at Athens.

Notwithſtanding the occaſional proſecutions of ſpeculative men, philoſophy had fixed its roots too deeply in Athens, to be extirpated by the temporary phrenzy of a capricious populace. Theophraſtus calmly ſucceeded Ariſtotle in the Peripaton, or walk of the Lyceum, from which place their followers retained the name of Peripatetics[45]. At the ſame time, Zeno taught *virtue* in the Stoa, or Portico, from which his diſciples derived the appellation of Stoics[46]. Epicurus explained *pleaſure* in thoſe well-known gardens, which were diſtinguiſhed by his name[47]. The followers of Diogenes, the Cynic, ſtill aſſembled in the Cynoſarges[48]; Speuſippus and Xenocrates ſucceeded Plato in the Academy[49]; and even Pyrrho, the Elian, the founder of the ſceptical ſect, who had accompanied Alexander in his eaſtern expedition, and ſhared the munificence of that prince[50], be-

Olymp. cxx.

43 Αμαρτανειν περι την Φιλοσοφιαν. Ælian, l. iii. c. vi.

44 Laert. l. v. in Ariſtot. & Auctor. citat. apud Brucker. Hiſtor. Philoſoph. vol. i. p. 787, & ſeqq.

45 The common opinion, that the followers of Ariſtotle were called Peripatetics, απο του Περιπατειν, "ex deambulatione," adopted by Cicero and others, is refuted by the authors cited by Brucker, v. i. p. 787.

46 Laert vii. 5.

47 Cicero ad Attic. l. ii. epiſt. 24.

48 Idem, ibid.

49 Suidas in Speuſipp. Laert. l. iv. c. 1, & ſeqq.

50 Sextus Empiric. Pyrrhon Hypotyp. l. i. c. iii.

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came, after the death of his benefactor, a citizen of Athens[51]. Thus did that illuſtrious city, after the extinction of its freedom, and of its military glory, ſtill maintain its pre-eminence in literature, philoſophy, and the fine arts. In the age of Alexander, Athens, as the ſeat of learning, aſſumed that preciſe form, which it exactly preſerved ſeven centuries, till the deſtructive invaſion of Greece by Alaric, and the Goths[52]. For it is worthy of obſervation, that the philoſophers, who, during this long interval, perpetuated the ſeveral ſects, ſubmiſſively followed the opinions of their reſpective maſters. Soon after the age of Alexander, genius diſappeared; literature and the arts alike degenerated; no new ſect aroſe; few innovations, and thoſe unſucceſsful, were attempted; and thus the period, which has been aſſigned for the termination of the preſent work, ſeems to have bounded the progreſs of the human mind; whether, according to the obſervation of Longinus, becauſe liberty is the beſt nurſe of genius, and ſingularly adapted, by cherishing the emulation and the hopes, to excite the energies, of thoſe born to true excellence[53]; or because, in the words of a great philoſopher, "there is a pitch of exaltation, as well as of depreſſion, to which when any nation has attained, its affairs neceſſarily return in an oppoſite direction."

A.D. 396. Decline of genius.

51 Laert. in Pyrrhon.

52 See Gibbon's Hiſtory of the Roman Empire, v. iii. c. xxx.

53 Long. de Sublim. ſect. 44.

Inſtead

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Tenets of the different ſects.

Inſtead of examining this ſpeculative queſtion, which the world is perhaps ſtill too young to enable us with accuracy to determine, it will better ſuit the deſign of an hiſtorical work, to explain the tenets of the different ſchools of philoſophy, then firſt eſtabliſhed in Athens; briefly to relate their various ſucceſs in the world; and to inquire, with becoming modeſty, how far thoſe artificial ſyſtems of happineſs correſpond with the natural dictates of unperverted ſentiment, and impartial reaſon.

Tenets of the Peripatetic ſect.

Ariſtotle, the founder of the Peripatetic ſchool, recogniſed, like Socrates and Plato, the dignity of human nature, and placed the chief happineſs of man, not in the agreeableneſs of his paſſive ſenſations, but in the proper exerciſe[54] of his intellectual and moral powers. According to Ariſtotle, the habit of this exerciſe, directed by right reaſon, conſtituted the higheſt excellence of man, in the ſame manner as the excellence of other animals, and even of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, reſulted from the perfection of thoſe qualities, by which they are reſpectively diſtinguiſhed. Yet, as man is a compound being, conſiſting of mind and matter, it ſeemed evident that his well-being muſt in ſome meaſure depend on the condition of his body, and on the means neceſſary to maintain this

54 The Stoics adopted, on this occaſion, both the ſentiments and the language of Ariſtotle. Ὁ μεν φιλοδοξος αλλοτριαν ενεργειαν ιδιον αγαθον υπολαμβανει· ὁ δε φιλησδονος ιδιαν πασιν· ὁ δε νους εχων, ιδιαν πραξιν. M. Anton. vi. 51. "The vain-glorious man places his own happineſs in the action of others; the voluptuous man, in his paſſive ſenſations; the wiſe man, in his own active exertions."

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inferior part of his nature in its moſt perfect ſtate. The abſence of diſeaſe and infirmity, and the proper conſtitution of all our bodily organs, are things deſirable not only on their own account, but as furniſhing us with the opportunity and the means of exerting thoſe mental energies, from which our principal felicity reſults. In the ſame manner, the goods of fortune, wealth, friends, and other external advantages, are deſirable not only as contributing to the ſupply of our bodily wants, but as the inſtruments through which a wiſe man is enabled to exerciſe his virtues, and accompliſh his purpoſes. Amidſt great calamities[55], Ariſtotle required not that perfect ſelf command to which ſome philoſophers pretended. He allowed a moderate degree of perturbation, as ſuitable to the weakneſs of human nature. In the preſent conſtitution of things, he thought a certain ſenſibility of paſſion not only excuſable, but neceſſary; ſince reſentment enabled us to repel injuries[56], and grief for paſt misfortunes made us vigilant to prevent the evils that might otherwiſe overtake us. But although this great philoſopher acknowledged the influence of fortune in human affairs, and thought it impoſſible for the firmeſt of men to remain unmoved amidſt the miſeries of Priam[57]; he main-

55 Ουτε γαρ εκ της ευδαιμονιας κινηθεσεται ῥαδιως, ουτε υπο των τυχοντων ατυχηματων, αλλ' υπο μεγαλων και πολλων. Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. x.

56 To bear inſults tamely, was regarded as highly ungraceful, and becoming only the character of a ſlave. Τοδε προπηλακιζομενον ανεχεσθαι ανδραποδωδες. Ethic. Nicom. iv. 2.

57 Εν τυχαις Πριαμικαις. Ariſtot. Ethic. Nicom. p. 40.

tained,

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tained, however, that we ourſelves were the principal architects of our own happineſs. The attainment of this great object depended far more on our own thoughts and reflections, which were ever and intimately preſent with us, and on the conſtitution of our own minds, which were in ſome meaſure ſubject to our own direction and controul, than on our external ſituation and circumſtances, which only affected us by accident, and over which we commonly enjoyed but little power, and ſometimes none. The perfection of our virtue, which was entirely our own work, ſhone forth with peculiar luſtre amidſt the gloom of unmerited calamity. When we bore it with becoming patience, we rejoiced in our own fortitude; and this inward pleaſure always alleviated the ſmart of external wounds. Aſſaulted by the moſt terrible afflictions, a wiſe man would not deſerve indeed the epithet of *happy*; yet neither could he be called *miſerable*, ſince he would ſtill diſdain to commit any thing odious or baſe. Philoſophy, which profeſſes to teach us the art of enjoying life, muſt therefore diſregard ſuch circumſtances as we can neither govern nor change, and confine itſelf to that part which we can regulate and controul. It muſt withdraw our attention from external objects, and fix it on ourſelves.

Diviſion of the mental powers.

To know himſelf, man muſt know the powers with which he is endowed. Of thoſe, we poſſeſs ſome in common with other animals [59]. and others in common even with the inanimate parts of na-

[59] The *το αισθητικον*, the powers of ſenſation, &c.

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ture[60]. In none of theſe, it is evident, can the proper employment of man conſiſt, but rather in ſuch faculties as, being peculiar to himſelf, diſtinguiſh and ennoble humanity. Theſe characteriſtic excellencies of our ſpecies all refer, either to the underſtanding, or to the will[61]; the firſt poſſeſſes reaſon eſſentially in itſelf, the ſecond is capable of being combined and aſſimilated with this divine principle. From the two powers of the underſtanding and the will are reſpectively derived two claſſes of virtues, the intellectual and the moral. Sagacity, penetration, intelligence, wiſdom, are virtues of the underſtanding; gentleneſs, temperance, fortitude, juſtice, are virtues of the heart. The former claſs conſiſts in the proper diſpoſition and habit[62] of the intellectual part of the ſoul; the latter, in the proper diſpoſition and habit of the deſires and affections, which, being formed ſubordinate to reaſon, and capable of liſtening to its dictates, then only perform their duty, when, like obedient ſubjects, they cheerfully obſerve the commands of their ſovereign. The intellectual virtues depend chiefly on education and exerciſe; the moral proceed entirely from habit, from which they derive their name[63]. It is by practiſing juſtice,

Intellectual and moral virtues.

60 The το θρεπτικον, &c. the powers of nutrition, &c.

61 I have ventured to uſe this word to expreſs the το ορεκτικον of Ariſtotle, the ſeat of the appetites, affections, and paſſions.

62 Επαινημεν δε και τον σοφον κατα την εξιν των εξεων δε τας επαινετας αρετας λεγομεν. Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. ult.

63 In explaining the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, the learned reader will perceive that I have tranſlated, as literally as poſſible, the energetic expreſſions of its author, Ηθικος, εθος; moralis, mos. The

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juſtice, that we become juſt; by practiſing temperance, that we become temperate; by practiſing

ſame holds not in Engliſh. The words ἀρετη in Greek, and *virtus* in Latin, are of very general import, denoting any praiſe-worthy diſpoſition, habit, or quality, of body or mind, intellectual or moral. The indeterminate uſe of theſe words has occaſioned ſtrange confuſion. The late ingenious Mr. Hume, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Morals, which, in other reſpects, he juſtly conſiders as the moſt valuable of his writings, enters into a large deduction, to prove that all virtues are praiſed and recommended as uſeful or agreeable. Theſe qualities conſtitute, according to him, the proper definition, the very eſſence of virtue; and all other diſtinctions are frivolous. To juſtify this paradox, he alleges the authority of Greek poets and philoſophers, who apply the term *virtue* to bodily ſtrength or addreſs, to memory, judgment, ſagacity, &c. as well as to juſtice, humanity, charity. This indeed is true; but the Greeks diſtinguiſhed between the virtues of the body, and thoſe of the mind; and the mental virtues they divided into the intellectual and moral. Ariſtotle characteriſes moral virtue as a voluntary habit, and ſays, that moral approbation is excited only by the praiſe-worthy habit of ſuch affections and actions as originate in ourſelves, and depend on no extrinſic cauſe. See Ariſtot. Magn. Moral. l. i. c. xv. and his commentator, Andronicus Rhodius, p. 89. and the Ethics to Nicomachus throughout. Mr. Hume, therefore, is juſtly reproved by Dr. Beattie, for ſaying, "that the ancient moraliſts made no material diſtinction among the different ſpecies of mental endowments and defects." See Hume's Inquiry, vol. ii. p. 387. But although the ancients, and Ariſtotle in particular, make very material diſtinctions between moral and intellectual virtues, yet, in his zeal for the good cauſe, Dr. Beattie appears to me to go too far in aſſerting, "that though they conſidered both the moral and intellectual virtues as neceſſary to the formation of a perfect character, and *ſometimes* diſcourſed of both in the ſame treatiſe or ſyſtem, yet they deemed *the latter valuable only as means to qualify us for the former, and inſignificant, or even odious, when they failed to anſwer this end.*" See Eſſay on Truth, p. 425. Firſt of all, according to the Greek moraliſts, it is impoſſible ever to treat of the moral virtues as diſtinct from the intellectual, ſince the former could not exiſt without a mixture of reaſon or intellect. Ethic. Nicom. paſſim; and particularly, l. iii. c. ii. Secondly, The intellectual virtues were ſo far from being eſteemed only as means to qualify us for the moral, that Ariſtotle conſiders the exerciſe of the former totally independent of the latter, as conſtituting our higheſt perfection and happineſs. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

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courage, that we become courageous. Hence the wonderful power of legiſlation, and early inſtitution, by which the Cretans, the Spartans, and ſome other nations, were honourably diſtinguiſhed among the reſt of mankind; and by which ſuch ſtates as ſhall wiſely imitate their example, may ſtill reach the ſame elevation of character, and ſtill acquire the ſame renown: "For it is not a matter of little moment, how we are accuſtomed in youth; much depends on that, or rather all."

Moral virtue neither natural nor contrary to nature.

The moral virtues, it is evident, are not implanted by nature; for that which is eſtabliſhed by nature, cannot be eſſentially changed by cuſtom. Heavy bodies, which, by the law of nature, deſcend, cannot be habituated to mount upwards; nor can fire, which naturally aſcends, be taught by habit to move in a contrary direction. The ſame holds concerning all the other laws by which nature governs her works. Our ſenſes, and other natural gifts, have the power of performing their ſeveral functions, before they have uſed them; and they retain this power, although we ſhould allow them to remain inactive. But virtue, like all practical arts, can be acquired and preſerved by practice only. It is neither natural, nor contrary to nature. We are born capable of attaining it, but the invaluable attainment muſt be made and perfected by habit. Yet the greater part of thoſe who aſpire to this ineſtimable prize, have recourſe to vain ſpeculations, flattering themſelves that this is philoſophy. Their conduct reſembles that of a patient, who ſhould carefully liſten to his phyſician,

ſician, but do nothing which he preſcribed. By ſuch medicine it is not poſſible to cure the diſorders of the body, nor by ſuch philoſophy, thoſe of the mind.

Virtue, as a matter of practice, cannot be reduced to metaphyſical preciſion. It is to be obſerved, however, that all the virtues depend on the propriety of the affections from which they ariſe; and that this propriety conſiſts in a certain point or centre, from which the deviations may be innumerable. The vices, therefore, many of which are without names, are far more numerous than the virtues. In general, virtue may be conceived to lie in a mean betwixt the extremes of too much and too little; and this health of the mind reſembles bodily health and ſtrength, which are deſtroyed by exceſs or defect of nouriſhment and exercise. Thus, to fear every thing is cowardly; to fear nothing is audacious; courage requires that we ſhould fear only ſuch objects as are truly formidable, and only in that degree in which they ought to be feared. In the ſame manner, he who is too much affected by objects of pleaſure, and ſeizes every opportunity to enjoy them, is called intemperate; he who is too little affected by ſuch objects, and refuſes every opportunity to enjoy them, may be called *inſenſible*[63]. Temperance teaches us to purſue only ſuch pleaſures as we ought,

Wherein it conſiſts.

63 Ἀναισθητος, and the abſtract thence derived, denoted the particular vice deſcribed in the text.

at

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at proper times, in proper places, and on proper occaſions. According to the ſame view of things, generoſity lies in the middle between avarice and profuſion; modeſty, between pride and diffidence; mildneſs, between iraſcibility and ſoftneſs; magnificence, between oſtentation and parſimony; *popularity*, between forbidding diſdain and officious adulation; in a word, every virtue conſiſts in a mean, equally remote from two vicious extremes [64].

How it muſt be attained.

Conſidered as the quality of an action, virtue conſiſts in the propriety of that affection from which the action proceeds; when the affection is neither too ſtrong nor too weak, but has preciſely that degree of ſtrength, which right reaſon teaches us to approve. As the quality of an action, virtue conſiſts, therefore, in mediocrity; but as the quality of a perſon, it conſiſts in the habit of this mediocrity, ſince, in judging perſons and characters, we regard not particular acts and feelings, but ſuch acts and feelings as are frequent and habitual. We may perform many virtuous actions, without being virtuous men. The moſt worthleſs of human kind ſometimes indulge the propenſity to pity and humanity. But whoever acts right, merely from feeling, will alſo, from feeling, more frequently act wrong. The ſentiments of nature, which prompt us to take care of our children, to relieve objects in diſtreſs, and to

64 Ethic. Nicom. l. ii. c. i. & ſeq.

perform

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perform many important duties of morality, likewiſe prompt us to gratify the vileſt and moſt brutal of our paſſions. Beſides this, there are many, and thoſe the moſt important virtues, the exerciſe of which is not in the firſt inſtances attended with pleaſure. To ſupport labour, to endure pain, to encounter difficulties and dangers, which wiſdom and fortitude, on many occaſions, require, are not obviouſly recommended by any natural deſire; nor is the practice of ſuch duties immediately agreeable. It is ſtill leſs agreeable, in the firſt inſtance, to curb and reſtrain our natural appetites for pleaſure, which is the proper office of temperance; nor can that vigilant circumſpection, and ever watchful attention to the moſt remote conſequences of our actions, which is eſſential to the virtue of prudence, be acquired without trouble and care, without many painful efforts and many difficult ſtruggles. Yet it is the nature of all thoſe virtues, as well as of the hardeſt leſſons of juſtice, patriotiſm, and friendſhip, to become, through habit, agreeable; and the only ſure teſt that we have acquired them, is, that they are practiſed with pleaſure. With good reaſon, therefore, Plato defines education to be the art of teaching men to rejoice and grieve *as they ought*; for though there be three ends ultimately agreeable, the pleaſant, the honourable, and uſeful; yet honour and utility are likewiſe purſued as pleaſures [65].

[65] Ethic. Nicom. l. vii. c. xi. & ſeqq.

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The hardeſt taſk of moral virtue.

The moſt extenſive part of virtue is employed, therefore, in regulating our deſire of pleaſure, and averſion to pain. It is alſo the moſt difficult; for, as Heraclitus obſerves, it is harder to combat pleaſure than anger. The iraſcible paſſions are always moved by ſome appearance of reaſon; and, in their moſt furious exceſſes, ſtill affect ſome deference for their ſovereign. They often, indeed, miſtake his intentions; and, like haſty ſervants, fly into action, without waiting his laſt orders. But pleaſure paſſively obeys ſenſation, without regarding reaſon at all. The miſchief is the more dangerous, being produced by the firſt object of natural deſire; for the love of pleaſure is implanted in our frame; the germ expands with our nature; and unleſs counteracted in due time, becomes ingrained in our conſtitution, every part of which it impregnates and ſtains. Habit alone can counteract thoſe dangerous propenſities of nature. Habit can enable us to reject diſhonourable or hurtful pleaſures, to prefer honourable or uſeful pains; for, as the poet Euenus ſays, "there is a long-continued exerciſe of attention, which finally becomes nature [66]."

Intellectual virtues the pureſt.

The moral virtues cannot, according to Ariſtotle, ſubſiſt without ſome mixture of the intellectual;

[66] Euenus was an elegiac poet of Paros, of whom few fragments remain. The verſes tranſlated in the text are,

Φημι πολυχρονιον μελετην εμεναι φιλε και, δη
Ταυτην ανθρωποισι τελευτωσαν φυσιν ειναι.

This is better expreſſed by another Greek proverb: Ἕλε βιον αριστον, ηδυν δε αυτον ἡ συνηθια ποιησει. Plut. Moral. p. 603. "Chooſe the beſt life, and cuſtom will render it agreeable."

but

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and moſt permanent ſource of happineſs.

but the latter may ſubſiſt alone and independent; and according to both Ariſtotle and Plato, the pureſt and moſt permanent felicity of which man is ſuſceptible, reſults from the exerciſe of his rational powers upon ſubjects of abſtract ſpeculation. The labours of the ſtateſman or general, the exertions of the legiſlator or patriot, all refer to ſome end or purpoſe, the attainment of which may be prevented by fortune, or fruſtrated by the weakneſs or wickedneſs of man. The practice of juſtice, generoſity, temperance, and fortitude, requires many conditions, and ſuppoſes a variety of ſituations, which it is not always in our power to command. The juſt or generous man muſt have objects to whom he may diſtribute his juſtice or generoſity; he muſt poſſeſs the means by which to exerciſe thoſe virtues, which all participate of frail mortality; ſince, though directed by prudence, they are impelled by paſſion, and reſult from the exigencies of our preſent corporeal ſtate. But the energies of contemplative wiſdom are pure and ſimple, like the intellectual ſource from which they ſpring. Not ſubſervient to remote purpoſes, or contingent ends, they are immediately agreeable on their own account; and, on every ſide, round and complete in themſelves. If the proper exerciſe of every member or faculty enlivens the ſenſe of our exiſtence, and thereby yields us a perception of pleaſure, how wonderfully delightful muſt be the exerciſe of the intellect, which renders us ſenſible of the divine principle within us! To live according to nature, is to live according to the

nobleſt

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nobleſt part of our nature, which, doubtleſs, is the mind. To live thus, is the life of a god; for, human as we are, we ought not, according to the vulgar exhortation, to regard only human things; but, though mortal, ſtrive to put on immortality[67]; aſſured that, as the mind chiefly forms the man, he who moſt cultivates his mind, is the beſt diſpoſed in himſelf, and the moſt agreeable to the gods[68].

Eſtimate of Ariſtotle's philoſophy.

Such is the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, lofty ſometimes, and impoſing, but in general, leſs erect and independent than that of Socrates and Plato, who preceded him; leſs proud and boaſtful than that of the Stoics, or even the Epicureans, by whom he was followed; and on the whole, perhaps, as unexceptionable as that of any moraliſt ancient or modern.

Its fate in the world.

It is commonly obſerved, that Ariſtotle attained the ſame authority over the opinions of men, which his pupil Alexander acquired over their perſons. But the empire of Alexander was eſtabliſhed in his own lifetime, and periſhed with himſelf. That of Ariſtotle did not commence till more than a thouſand years after his deceaſe, and continued ſeveral centuries. The Peripatetic ſchool ſubſiſted, indeed, without interruption, at Athens, but the

67 Χρη δε ȣ κατα τȣς παραινȣντας, ανθ[illegible] οντα, ȣδε θνητα τον θνητον· αλλ' εφ' ὁσον [illegible] και ἁπαντα ποιειν κατα το κρατιστον των εν[illegible] Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

68 Ὁ δε κατα νȣν ενεργων, και τȣτον θεραπευ[illegible] και θεοφιλεστατος εοικεν ειναι. Id. c. x. c. viii.

Lyceum

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Lyceum never attained there any pre-eminence above the Portico and Academy. When philoſophy was tranſplanted to a more ſplendid theatre in Rome, men of ſpeculation and ſcience generally preferred Plato to Ariſtotle [69]; while many of the moſt celebrated characters of the republic enliſted themſelves under the banners of Zeno or Epicurus. With the fall of Roman liberty, philoſophy, as well as literature and the fine arts, ſlowly declined; and under the emperors, particularly in the ſecond and third centuries of the Chriſtian æra, the moſt extravagant of Plato's ſpeculations were the doctrines beſt adapted to the condition of the times, and to the dark and ſhadowy minds of Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and other contemplative viſionaries, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Eclectics, or later Platoniſts, who poſſeſſed the wildneſs without the fancy, and the ſubtilty without the genius, of Plato [70]. During the ſucceeding centuries, the doctrines of Ariſtotle ſlowly gained the aſcendant; but as had happened to Plato in an earlier period, the moſt frivolous part of Ariſtotle's philoſophy was the higheſt in eſteem during the darkneſs of the middle ages. The deciſive boldneſs of his logic, phyſic, and metaphyſic, ſuited the genius of a church which affected to be univerſal, and the inſolence of a man who pretended to be infallible; and, while the uſeful and

69 Cicero, paſſim.

70 Beſides the works of Brucker and Stanley, the learned reader may conſult, on this ſubject, profeſſor Meiner's Beytrag uber die Neu Platoniſche Philoſophie. Leipſig, 1782.

practical

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practical works of Ariſtotle were neglected, his ſpeculative philoſophy being thus incorporated with the Romiſh ſuperſtition; they long conſpired, with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs, to enthral the human mind.

Coincidence in the opinions of Zeno and Epicurus.

Zeno and Epicurus pretended, as well as Plato and Ariſtotle, to deduce their philoſophy from experience; but their views of nature are leſs perſpicuous, and leſs extenſive; and their concluſions leſs convincing, and leſs reaſonable. For the infinite variety of nature, they ſubſtituted the narrowneſs of their own artificial ſyſtems; and it will ever be the ſcandal of this abſtract philoſophy, that men who boaſted following the ſame path, ſhould have reached ſuch oppoſite goals; the ſect of Zeno having diſcovered, by all its reſearches, that pain was not an evil; and the ſect of Epicurus, that pleaſure was the only good: the Stoics, that virtue alone was truly valuable in itſelf, and deſirable on its own account; the Epicureans, that virtue in itſelf was really of no value, and merely deſirable for the ſake of pleaſure. Yet, amidſt the ſtriking contradictions of theſe ſects, they agreed in ſpeculative pride, loudly aſſerting, that the philoſophy which they reſpectively taught, was the excluſive road to happineſs. Both required from their imaginary ſage an abſolute command over his paſſions; and both ſuppoſed, that in his preſent ſtate of exiſtence, he could attain this perfection. Zeno and Epicurus alike rejected the doctrine of future rewards and puniſhments, as unneceſſary to their ſyſtem; both juſtified ſuicide; both boaſted of enjoying a felicity equal to that of the gods;

and, in proportion as their principles receded from truth and nature, and flattered that factitious vanity incident to the human heart, they were diffuſed with greater rapidity, more zealouſly embraced, and more obſtinately defended [71].

The ſtoic philoſophy.

In examining by what ſhew of reaſon, men whoſe wiſdom was revered by their contemporaries, could arrive at ſuch extraordinary concluſions, the dignity of *virtue* demands the precedence for Zeno. That philoſopher affected to examine, with great accuracy, the natural propenſities of the human race; to obſerve the various changes which they underwent in their progreſs from infancy to manhood; to contemplate the effects produced by external cauſes on our internal frame; and, by comparing man with inferior animals, to diſplay the illuſtrious prerogatives which he enjoyed, and the high deſtination which nature had aſſigned him. Self-preſervation, he obſerved, was the univerſal and primary deſire of all animals. In man, this deſire reſpected his body, and all its different members, his mind, and all its different faculties; and prompted him to maintain the whole fabric of his complex exiſtence in the moſt perfect condition of which it is capable. Nature had generally attached a pleaſure to the means neceſſary for this purpoſe; but that we deſired pleaſure for the ſake of preſervation, not preſervation for the ſake of pleaſure, he thought evident from the firſt motions and efforts of all animals, tending to

[71] Laert. in Zenon. & Epicur. Cicero de Finibus, l. i, ii, iii. Plutarch. Commun. Concept. contra Stoicos.

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prevent diſſolution, and preceding any diſtinct notions of pain or pleaſure [74].

Love of truth.

Although, in the order of time, man perhaps firſt felt the propenſities requiſite to the ſafety of his bodily frame, yet, at a very early period, he ſhewed himſelf endowed with deſires of a different, and more exalted kind. Not to mention the obſcure intimations of his love of truth and knowledge during his infant ſtate, in which he applied his ſenſes with great activity to the examination of the objects preſented to him, he naturally learned the uſe of words to expreſs theſe objects, as well as the reflections of his own mind concerning them; and had no ſooner made this important acquiſition, than he teſtified an ardent curioſity to extend his knowledge, and to enlarge his acquaintance with the nature, the cauſes, the relations, and dependencies of the various claſſes of beings which he beheld around him. From this love and approbation of what is true and ſincere, rather than of the contrary, which he felt to be congenial to his own nature, he readily believed whatever thoſe perſons, with whom he converſed, thought proper to communicate to him; a principle which, though the ſource of innumerable errors and prejudices, ſerved, however, as the only foundation on which his future improvements could be built.

[74] The principles of the ſtoical philoſophy are explained in Cicero de Finibus, the works of Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius, and Seneca. In treating of the practical duties of morality, Cicero in his Offices chiefly follows the principles of the ſtoics.

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In examining the nature and relations of other things, he gradually became ſenſible of his own. His affections, he felt, carried him beyond his own perſon, and he derived happineſs from the happineſs of others, although he received from it no advantage but the pleaſure of beholding it. The ſentiments of juſtice, gratitude, and benevolence, he felt to be agreeable to his nature, to be proper and laudable; the contrary ſentiments, to be diſagreeable to his nature, to be improper and odious. His own good, therefore, was thus pointed out to him, by the original frame of his ſentiments, to be intimately connected with the good of his family, his friends, his country, and the great ſociety of mankind, of which he made part. Enlarging his views ſtill farther, he perceived, that every ſpecies is relative to the element in which it lives; thus fiſhes have fins for the water, birds have wings for the air; and that many of theſe ſpecies are mutually connected with, and reciprocally ſubſervient to, each other, while all of them eſſentially enter into the great plan of nature, and complete the harmony and perfection of that univerſal ſyſtem, to the ſtability of which the order of particular parts, or what, in each ſpecies, and in each individual, is called private good, muſt neceſſarily be ſubordinate. Conſidering the narrowneſs of human capacity, it is not wonderful that many of the connections and dependencies of this univerſal ſyſtem ſhould eſcape our obſervation. But if we confine our view to thoſe objects of which we have the cleareſt apprehenſion, we ſhall find

Social affection.

Univerſal ſyſtem.

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find that they all depend on each other, and are united in one ſcheme or conſtitution of things. The individuals of the humam race were doubtleſs formed, not for themſelves alone. In the different ſexes, the external organization, and ſtill more the inward frame, the correſpondence of parts, and ſtill more the ſympathy of ſentiments, indicate the male and female mutually deſtined for each other. The naked helpleſſneſs of infancy requires the tender cares of a parent. The decrepitude of age loudly demands the kind returns of filial gratitude. In early ages of the world, men, without uniting in ſmall communities, muſt have fallen a prey to the ſavages of the deſert; and, with the growth of theſe communities, ſocial affection naturally makes progreſs; hence, with the advancement of arts and civility, the bands which unite us to our country are multiplied and ſtrengthened.

Rules of duty thence derived.

In thus contemplating the relations in which he ſtands, man becomes ſenſible of the duties required of him. The voice of nature teaches him (for this is her univerſal law) that the greater good is to be preferred to the leſſer, and the good of the many to that of the few. In applying this rule to all the claſſes of objects ſubmitted to our choice, we live conſiſtently with nature. The goods of the mind, therefore, muſt be preferred to thoſe of the body; and what is called private intereſt muſt yield to that of the public. Even in objects of the ſame claſs, the general law muſt be obſerved. We muſt *prefer* and *reject*, according

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to the rules of right reaſon, not according to caprice and fancy. In the primary objects of deſire reſpecting the body, health is to be preferred to ſtrength, and ſtrength to agility; and in the ſecondary objects reſpecting this part of our nature, or thoſe which may be employed as inſtruments to procure bodily pleaſures, and ward off bodily pains, ſuch as wealth, power, the good opinion of thoſe with whom we live, and innumerable other circumſtances of a ſimilar kind, we muſt uniformly regulate our conduct by the ſame great principles of preference and rejection [73]. In thus appreciating the objects of deſire, and when all cannot be obtained, in preferring the moſt valuable and honourable; in thus appreciating the objects of averſion, and when all cannot be avoided, in rejecting the moſt hurtful and odious, conſiſt that order and harmony, that juſt balance of affection, and perfect propriety of conduct, which eſſentially contains in it whatever is meritorious, laudable, and happy. It is concerning the primary objects of deſire, indeed, and the means neceſſary to attain them, that this propriety of ſentiment and action is exerciſed; but as thoſe to whom we are recommended are often more valued by us, than thoſe by whom we were made known to them, ſo the duties of wiſdom and virtue, to which we have been, as it were, recommended by

73 The technical terms of the ſtoical philoſophy, like all terms of art, found backward in languages in which they were not originally invented, nothing can be more natural than the Greek expreſſions, προηγεσθαι and εκλογη.

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the original propenſities of our nature, are far more eſtimable in themſelves, than all the external advantages which they are fitted to procure. When our lives are harmoniſed to virtue, when we perceive the agreement of our thoughts and actions to propriety and decorum, the beauty of this concord ſtrikes us as infinitely more deſirable than all the ends which it has a tendency to promote; this concord itſelf becomes the great, or rather the ſole, end of all our purſuits; compared with which, health and ſickneſs, riches and poverty, pain and pleaſure, are finally conſidered as objects of little moment, and altogether incapable of ſhaking the ſtability of our happineſs.

The pleaſure of obſerving them.

It is in vain that men ſeek felicity in thoſe objects which depend not on themſelves; which, even while they poſſeſs, they fear to loſe, and which fortune can either give or take away[74]. The feelings of our own minds, which are ever and intimately preſent to us, muſt always afford the principal ſource of our happineſs or miſery. To a wiſe man, therefore, every condition of external circumſtances, and every ſituation in life, muſt be alike indifferent, ſince there is none wherein he can be placed, in which he may not perform his duty, and render himſelf an object of approbation and applauſe to all rational nature. To feel in our own minds the teſtimony of the whole univerſe in our favour, and to be ſenſible, that whatever may be

74 Και τα μεν εφ' ἡμιν εστι φυσει ελευθερα, ανεμποδιστα, ανυποτακτα· τα δε ουχ εφ' ἡμιν, ασθενη, δουλα, κωλυτα, αλλοτρια. Epict. Enchir. c. ii.

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the conſequences of our conduct, it has been governed by the great rules which the Divinity preſcribes, affords a degree of inward ſatisfaction, to which the greateſt outward proſperity can add nothing worthy of calculation; for as a ſingle drop of water is loſt in the broad expanſe of the Ægean, as a ſingle ſtep is diſregarded in the immenſe diſtance to India, as the light of a taper is eclipſed by the meridian ſun[75], ſo the external conveniencies of life, and the advantages pertaining to the body, are overwhelmed, obſcured, and loſt, in the tranſcendent excellence and incomparable ſplendour of virtue.

Fortitude.

Thoſe dangers which appear moſt formidable, and thoſe calamities which appear moſt dreadful to the vulgar, cannot intimidate or deject the man who has fortitude to deſpiſe the one, and conſtancy to bear the other. The ſage delights in thoſe clouds of adverſity, through which his virtue beams forth with peculiar luſtre, and rejoices in the kind cruelties of Fortune, which ſubject him to difficult and glorious combats. Senſible of his own powers, he is happy to meaſure them againſt a vigorous antagoniſt. The victory is not liable to contingencies, but depends on himſelf alone; a conſideration ſufficient to ſupport him againſt the number and ſtrength of his enemies[76]. When the firm probity of Regulus ſubmitted his periſhable body to be burned and lacerated by the Cartha-

75 The illuſtrations given by Cic. de Fin.

76 Ἀνίκητος εἶναι δύνασαι, ἐὰν εἰς μηδένα ἀγῶνα καταβαίνῃς, ὃν μὴ ἔστι σοὶ νικῆσαι. Enchir. c. xxv.

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ginians, he well knew that thoſe revengeful Barbarians could not torture his fortitude, his patriotiſm, his magnanimity. His mind, guarded by ſuch an aſſemblage and attendance of virtues, bade defiance to every aſſault. The mind of Regulus ſtill triumphed; and amidſt the painful diſcerption of his frail members, he maintained and fortified the integrity of that part of his nature which properly conſtitutes the man, and in which alone any permanent happineſs or miſery can reſide.

Reſignation.

From the enthuſiaſm naturally inſpired by the beautiful and auguſt forms of benevolence and magnanimity, the ſtoics again returned to the ſpeculations of abſtract philoſophy. In every arrangement or combination of objects, which can be called a conſtitution or ſyſtem, the good of each part, they obſerved, muſt be relative and ſubordinate to that of the whole. To illuſtrate in the conſtitution moſt familiar to us, the body of man, the good of each limb and member, conſidered as ſomething ſeparate and independent, conſiſted in preſerving its natural ſtate, and in never being ſubjected to any fatigue or hardſhip, to any pain or uneaſineſs. But conſidered as the part of a ſyſtem, in the good of which its own is neceſſarily included, this limb or member muſt often ſubmit to great inconveniencies. For the ſake of the whole body, the foot muſt often trample in the dirt, muſt often tread upon thorns, and ſometimes be burned, or lacerated, or even cut off, when ſuch operations are requiſite for the ſafety of the whole ſyſtem. In refuſing to comply, the foot ceaſes to be a foot;

in the ſame manner do *you* ceaſe to be a man, in ſhrinking from the hardeſt duties required by the intereſt of ſociety. But that ſociety itſelf, as well as every member which it contains, are parts of a larger ſyſtem, that harmonious whole, whoſe conſummate order and perfect beauty evince the ſuperintendence of infinite wiſdom and infinite goodneſs. Under ſuch government, no abſolute evil can exiſt; and what appears wrong reſpecting particular parts, muſt neceſſarily be right reſpecting the whole. A wiſe man will therefore be alike ſatisfied with every ſituation in which he may be placed; deeply convinced, that were he acquainted with the whole connections and dependencies of events, that ſituation would, even to himſelf, appear the moſt proper, that could poſſibly be aſſigned him. He uſes, indeed, ſuch means as prudence directs, to avert calamity; but when that is his lot, he cheerfully ſubmits to the wiſe diſpenſation of Providence. The eſtabliſhed order of the univerſe, he knows, is not to be changed by the prayers of men. When *he* prays to the Gods, it is not with a view to alter their wiſe intentions concerning him: he prays that they would ſhow him the hardeſt trials with which he muſt contend, and the ſevereſt circumſtances in which he muſt be placed: that by voluntarily accepting thoſe trials, and voluntarily embracing thoſe circumſtances, he may prove his confidence in their goodneſs, and his perfect reſignation to their ſovereign will[77].

If

Αγε δη με, ω Ζευ και συ ἡ πεπρωμενη,
Οποι ποθ υμιν ειμι διατεταγμενος,
Ὡς εψομαι σπουδαιος ηδε αοκνος.

The

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Command over the paſſions.

If our own unmerited misfortunes ought never to occaſion us any uneaſineſs, ſo neither ought we to be affected by thoſe of our relations, our friends, or our country. When calamity threatens connections ſo dear to us, we muſt exert ourſelves ſtrenuouſly in their behalf; but ſhould our well-meant endeavours be fruſtrated by circumſtances not liable to our controul, it would be highly ungraceful and improper to have recourſe to unmanly lamentations. The ſame law of propriety which prompts our active exertions to the good of others, reſtrains our paſſive feelings at ſight of their diſtreſs: the former alone can be uſeful to *them*; the latter would be both hurtful and diſhonourable to *ourſelves*.

The ſtoical philoſophy impoſed therefore an abſolute ſilence on the ſoft voice of pity [78], as well as on the boiſterous diſſonance of anger, and on all paſſions in general which were regarded as perturbations and diſeaſes of the mind, that a wiſe man ought not merely to appeaſe, but utterly to eradicate. As they ſuppoſed their imaginary ſage capable of attaining this perfection, they inferred that all duties were alike eaſy to him. *His* actions were

This reaſon is ſubjoined,

Εαν δε μη εθελω, ουχ ηττον ἑψομαι.

"We ought to be willing to obey the Gods, ſince we muſt obey them, whether we are willing or not."

[78] Epictetus, however, allows the *appearance* of ſympathy with objects in diſtreſs, but ſternly forbids the reality. Μεχρι μεν τοι λογου μη οκνει συμπεριφερεσθαι αυτω (viz. the perſon afflicted) και τυχη συνεπιστεναξαι προσεχε μεν τοι, μη και ἑσωθεν στενοχωρεισθαι. Epictet. Enchir. c. xxii.

continually regulated by propriety, and all of them therefore equally laudable; whereas thoſe of a fool, or one who ſubſtituted paſſion and caprice in the ſtead of reaſon and principle, were all equally blameable. This doctrine, which ſo nearly reſembles that of many Chriſtian divines, "that the greateſt virtues of the heathens were but ſplendid vices," is the ſource to which all the other paradoxes of the ſtoics may be traced. Both theſe Chriſtians and the ſtoics conſidered good or bad actions as relative only to the cauſe which produces them, the affection or character from which they proceed, not to the conſequences which flow from them, the good or bad effects which they tend to promote. Theſe conſequences and effects, it was obſerved by the ſtoics, depended not on ourſelves. With regard to us, therefore, they were altogether indifferent; and as ſuch, could not poſſibly conſtitute any part of merit or demerit, or become the proper objects of praiſe or cenſure.

Vulgar eſtimation of actions and characters.

The ignorant vulgar indeed, and as ſuch the ſtoics conſidered all thoſe who were unacquainted with their philoſophy, allowed ſuch contingent circumſtances to influence their appreciation of actions and characters; and thence the extraordinary confuſion introduced into religion and morality. Of two men, equally vicious, the one may be condemned to obſcurity, and bereft of opportunity to exert his wickedneſs; the other may be raiſed to power, which he abuſes, or entruſted with a ſceptre, which becomes an iron rod in his hands. To the bulk of mankind, the ſecond appears a greater monſter

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monſter than the firſt. To the philoſopher, they appear equally criminal; but the firſt is a ſtorm which ſpends its rage in vacuity; the ſecond a cloud, not more tempeſtuous, that deſtroys the fair objects accidentally expoſed to its violence. In the ſame manner two men may be equally meritorious, although the one, from the unfavourable circumſtances in which he is placed, may reſemble a clear ſtream rolling through a loneſome ſolitude, while the other, more advantageouſly ſituated with reſpect to external objects, may reſemble a beautiful river flowing through a populous valley, ſupplying the wants of man and other animals, and diffuſing abundance and pleaſure through the adjoining country, which it fertiliſes and adorns.

Corrected by the ſtoics.

The injudicious eſtimation of virtues and vices, by the effects which they tend to produce, is the ſource of that extravagant admiration on the one hand, and that exceſſive ſeverity on the other, which univerſally characteriſe the judgments of the vulgar. But a wiſe man, who examines the firſt principles of action in the human heart, will neither be dazzled by the ſplendour of heroes and patriots, nor provoked to undue revenge againſt illuſtrious criminals[79]. The civil magiſtrate, who is intruſted with the intereſt of ſociety, and who has that intereſt always in view, muſt chiefly regard external actions, and conſider *them* as ſufficient indications of the inward affections and character. It is his buſineſs to regulate the lives, not to purify

79 Σημεια προκοπτοντος· ουδενα ψεγει, ουδενα επαινει, &c. Enchir. c. lxxii.

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the hearts, of men. But we may be aſſured that He, who can penetrate deeper than an earthly judge, governs the moral world by more refined principles, and diſpenſes rewards and puniſhments according to a more accurate ſtandard[80]. To avert his anger, ſuperſtition tells us to repair the bad conſequences of our miſconduct; and, as this is often impracticable, therefore commands an impoſſibility: to regain his approbation, and that of our own breaſts, philoſophy exhorts us to fix our chief attention, not on effects, which are tranſitory, but on the cauſe, which is permanent; to be leſs anxious about wiping off the ſtain of particular ſins, than ſolicitous to ſtop the ſource from which they all flow. When we have accompliſhed this great purpoſe, we have reached the perfection of our nature. For the Deity, who has enjoined virtue as our duty, has placed our happineſs in virtue. In performing the taſk aſſigned us, we neceſſarily attain our reward[81].

Philoſophy of Epicurus.

Such is the philoſophy of the ſtoics, which beſide containing ſeveral contradictions which all the ſubtlety of the ſect was unable to reconcile, evidently ſuppoſes a degree of perfection far beyond the weakneſs of humanity. The ſyſtem of Epicurus is not leſs artificial in its texture, and, though humbler in its origin, is equally magnificent in its concluſions[82]. Like the lowly plant,

80 Epictet. Enchir. c. xxxviii.

81 Quod ſi ita eſt, ut neque quiſquam, niſi bonus vir, & omnes boni beati ſint; quid philoſophiâ magis colendum, aut quid eſt virtute divinius. Cicero de Fin. l. iii. ad fin.

82 Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtip. & Epicur.

which,

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which, at firſt feebly emerging from the ground, gradually riſes to a ſtately tree towering to the ſky, the philoſophy of Epicurus, at firſt reſtricting the primary objects of natural deſire and averſion to bodily pleaſure and pain, by degrees expands itſelf into the faireſt forms of virtue, and enforces the ſevereſt leſſons of duty. That pleaſure and pain are the univerſal objects of deſire and averſion is a truth, he obſerved, powerfully atteſted by the conſenting voice of all animated nature. Not only men, but children, and even brute animals, could they emit articulate ſounds, would declare and cry out, that pleaſure is the ſovereign good, and pain the greateſt evil[81]. That they are, not only the greateſt and moſt univerſal, but the *ſole* ultimate objects of deſire and averſion, Epicurus endeavoured to prove by analyſing our paſſions, and actions, and virtues, all of which, he pretended, had, in the laſt inſtance, nothing farther in view than to procure bodily pleaſure, and avoid bodily pain. If we deſire power and wealth, it is becauſe power and wealth furniſh us with innumerable means of enjoyment. Senſible that the good-will of the ſociety in which we live, is neceſſary to our ſecurity, we ſtrive aſſiduouſly to acquire it, cultivate friendſhip, exerciſe benevolence, and practiſe with diligence and alacrity all thoſe ſocial virtues eſſential to the public ſafety, in which our own is included. When it is neceſſary to reject a preſent pleaſure, in order to attain a greater in future, temperance muſt moderate the eagerneſs of deſire;

[81] Cicero de Finibus, l. i. c. ix. & paſſim.

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deſire; and when it is neceſſary to encounter a preſent pain, in order to avoid a greater in future, fortitude muſt controul the dictates of puſillanimity. Juſtice teaches us to abſtain from injuring others, as the only condition on which we can eſcape being injured by them. And prudence, which, according to Epicurus is the queen of all the virtues, and to which juſtice, temperance, and fortitude are barely handmaids and attendants, invariably points out to us, and enforces, that courſe of action which is moſt conducive to our private comfort and happineſs. This courſe of action is acknowledged by all moraliſts to conſiſt in the practice of virtue; ſo that virtue, according to Epicurus, is the only true wiſdom, and vice the moſt ſhort-ſighted levity and weakeſt folly.

His analyſis of pleaſure and pain.

To illuſtrate this doctrine, he obſerved, that though all the modifications of hope and fear ultimately refer to the ſenſations of bodily pleaſure or pain, yet the pleaſures and pains of the mind are infinitely more important than their originals. The body can only feel the ſenſation of the preſent moment, which can never be of great importance; whereas the mind recollects the paſt, and anticipates the future. If our mental frame, therefore, be properly adjuſted, if our ſentiments and judgments be duly regulated, it is a matter of little moment how our bodies be diſpoſed; we may deſpiſe its pleaſures, and even ſet its pains at defiance. If pain be violent, experience teaches us that it muſt be ſhort; it cannot be continued long without becoming moderate, and admitting many intervals

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tervals of eaſe; beſides, death is always within our reach, and ready at a call to deliver us, whenever life becomes a burden.

Bold pretenſions of his philoſophy.

By this kind of philoſophical chemiſtry, Epicurus extracted from the groſſeſt materials, the moſt ſublime principles of wiſdom and virtue. His philoſophy impoſed abſolute ſilence on the paſſions; ſince no ſtate, and therefore not the little republic of man, can be happy in ſedition. In this tranquillity of mind, he boaſted a felicity which external pleaſures might vary, but could not increaſe; and his ſecurity of enjoyment he aſſerted to be equally firm and unalterable with that of the Gods, ſince the moſt unbounded duration could not afford greater happineſs than aroſe from reflecting, that all our pleaſures and pains are confined within a narrow ſpan. Having adopted the atomic philoſophy of Democritus, he rendered it ſubſervient to his morality. The phænomena of nature, he fancied might be explained by the figures and motions of the ſmall particles of matter; and as the univerſe aroſe, ſo did it continue, without the interference of the Gods, thoſe celeſtial beings, who, enjoying complete happineſs in themſelves, and totally independent on the actions of men, are neither pleaſed with our virtues, nor offended by our crimes. Confiding in the certainty of theſe ſpeculations, he trampled under foot the ſuperſtitious terrors of the vulgar, and fortified his mind againſt the fear of death[84].

[84] Lucretius, paſſim.

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Such were the tenets of Epicurus, than whom no philoſopher was ever more admired and beloved by his diſciples, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate eſteem. He is deſcribed as a man of the moſt amiable diſpoſition, of great gentleneſs and humanity; and, like Eudoxus, who preceded him, and who inculcated the ſame looſe doctrines of religion and morality, extremely temperate with regard to pleaſure; a circumſtance which failed not to add much reputation to his philoſophy. In his character, the firm and manly, were united with the gentler, virtues. When grievouſly afflicted with the ſtone, he bore the agony incident to that diſeaſe with the greateſt conſtancy; and, in the laſt day of his life, when his pain had reached a degree beyond which he could conceive none greater, wrote to his friend Hermachus[85], and recommended to him the children of his favourite diſciple Metrodorus, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that as to himſelf, he ſtill was happy, ſince the ſmart of his bodily ſufferings was more than compenſated by the pleaſures of his mind, and particularly by the agreeable remembrance of his diſcoveries; a declaration, however inconſiſtent it may be deemed with his opinions, highly honourable to the man.

His character.

Philoſophy of Pyrrho.

Such were the philoſophical ſyſtems reſpecting life and happineſs, by which the more liberal part of mankind long affected to regulate their ſentiments and conduct. The exceſſive ſcepticiſm of Pyrrho,

[85] Vid. Diogen. Laert. l. x. ſect. ix. & Cic. de Finibus, l. ii. c. xxx. & ſeqq.

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which none could reduce to practice without meriting the charge of inſanity, ſeems never, even in theory, to have had much vogue among the ſpeculatiſts of antiquity. In matters of doubtful evidence, indeed, a prudent ſuſpenſion of judgment had been recommended by Socrates, enforced by Plato, and extended to ſubjects of every kind by his followers Arceſilas and Carneades[86]. Theſe philoſophers, however, in denying certainty, ſtill admitted probability, which they thought ſufficient for regulating our judgments and actions. But the extravagant Pyrrho was dogmatical only in maintaining, that no one opinion was more probable than another. The non-exiſtence of ſenſible qualities, which had been proved by Democritus[87], Protagoras[88], and Ariſtippus[89], and which is commonly ſuppoſed a modern diſcovery, becauſe the contrary opinion obtained among the ſchoolmen, probably led Pyrrho to deny the reality likewiſe of moral qualities and diſtinctions. As heat and cold, taſtes and colours, had no external exiſtence in

86 Becauſe Socrates and Plato doubted ſome things, theſe philoſophers doubted all. Vid. Cicer. Acad. l. i. They formed, what was called, the New Academy, which held the ſame tenets with the ancient, only aſſerting them ſtill leſs poſitively.

87 See Sextus Empiricus, p. 399.

88 Pyrrhon. Hypot. l. i. ſect. 216.

89 Præteria quoniam nequeant ſine luce colores
Eſſe, neque in luce exiſtant primordia rerum
Scire licet, quam ſint nullo velata colore.
. . . . . .
Sed ne forte putes ſolo ſpoliata colore
Corpora prima manere; etiam ſecreta teporis,
Sunt, ac frigoris omnino, &c. LUCRETIUS, l. ii.

bodies,

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bodies, and were mere ideas of the mind; in the ſame manner, beauty and deformity, virtue and vice, happineſs and miſery, had no real or permanent cauſe, but depended, like every thing elſe, on relation or compariſon. Upon this principle, "that all was relative[90]," Pyrrho eſtabliſhed topics for enabling his ſect readily to diſpute the truth of all poſitions whatever, and which were reduced to ten[91], probably in oppoſition to the ten categories of the dogmatiſts. The great patron of Pyrrhoniſm boaſts, that while other philoſophers wandered in purſuit of a falſe and artificial happineſs, Pyrrho alone had diſcovered the true and natural one, and that, by an accident ſimilar to the painter's[92], who having finiſhed the picture of a dog all to the foam of his mouth, could not, after repeated trials, ſatisfy himſelf in painting this laſt circumſtance. Enraged by diſappointment, he at length daſhed againſt the canvas the ſpunge with which he wiped his pencils. Accident produced the effect which he had vainly ſought from art; and the foam was repreſented ſo naturally, that the picture, though admirable in other reſpects, was chiefly admired on this account. Fatigued by many painful reſearches into the nature of truth and virtue, Pyrrho, in the ſame manner, had diſcovered that truth and virtue were nowhere to be

[90] Παντα προς τι. Sextus Empiric.

[91] Sextus Empiric. Hypothet. Pyrrhon. l. i. c. xiv. & Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrhon.

[92] Sextus Empiric. l. i. c. xii. Sextus calls the painter Apelles. Pliny, l. xxxv. c. xx. aſcribes this accident to Protogenes, and a ſimilar one to Nealces, in painting a horſe.

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found; a diſcovery which produced that moderation and *indiſturbance*[93], that happy indifference, or rather perfect inſenſibility, which is as naturally attended by happineſs, as a body is followed by its ſhadow[94].

Concluſion.

In concluding this work with the ſcepticiſm of Pyrrho, it is proper to obſerve, for the honour of Greece, that though the doctrines which that philoſopher inculcated can have no other tendency than to unhinge the moral principles, to darken and perplex the mind; yet thoſe ſyſtems of his contemporaries, or predeceſſors, which have been more particularly explained in the preſent hiſtory, amidſt all their apparent contradictions, uniformly afford ſuch views of nature and of man, as awaken and cheriſh our love for both. Eſtabliſhed on firm grounds of reaſon, they evince the indiſſoluble union of intereſt with duty, diſplay the beauty of virtue in its brighteſt charms, and unmaſk the hideous ſpectres of fancy and ſuperſtition.

[93] Ατραξια. Sextus Empiric.

[94] Sextus Empiric. ubi ſupra, & paſſim.

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